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CHILD LABOR

THE ANNALS

OF THE

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ISSUED BI-MONTHLY

VOL. XXIX, No. 1 JANUARY, 1907

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POVERTY AND PARENTAL DEPENDENCE AS AN OBSTACLE TO CHILD LABOR REFORM

By Homer Folks,

Vice-Chairman of the National Child Labor Committee, New York.

The history of efforts for child labor legislation shows that they usually pass through three stages before reaching final success. When an agitation for a child labor law is started the first objection raised to it is that there are no children employed, or not at least any considerable number. After good people have gone to the mines and factories and have counted the children, and have gathered undeniable data disproving that statement, the next objection that is brought forward is that while there may be some children employed, after all such employment is a good thing for the children, and some very eminent men are named as having been employed in their childhood, by reason of which they became very distinguished when grown up.

After further research as to the evil effects of child labor, such as has been made at great length by our two assistant secretaries, and by many others, and after it has demonstrated beyond question that this employment of children is bad for the children, there still remains one stronghold to be taken. It is then said: Well, yes, there are some children employed, and that perhaps it is not altogether exactly what one would regard as ideal, but nevertheless the earnings of these children are absolutely necessary for the maintenance of their families. Many of them, it is said, are the children of widows. In other cases their fathers have deserted or are ill, and, except for the earnings of these children, the families would suffer and might starve.

That is the final stronghold to be captured by the friends of progressive legislation, not only for the restriction of child labor, but also for compulsory school attendance and for the exclusion of children from certain occupations dangerous to health or morals.

What was said by the friends of such legislation until quite recently was substantially this, that we did not believe that there were many children whose earnings were really needed by their families; that only a small proportion of the children could be the children of widows; that only a small proportion of those widows were dependent upon the earnings of their children, and that in so far as it might be true that the earnings of the children were needed by their families, it was, in our opinion, a great deal better that their income should be supplemented from some other source, and, furthermore, that it was our conviction that other resources would be at hand if those earnings were stopped. That was a word of hope and of confidence, and of conviction indeed, but it was not at that time founded on actual experience.

The task devolved upon me is to set forth the results of several years of actual experience in this direction, and if I speak with comparatively little first hand knowledge of child labor legislation and problems, I can speak with sixteen years of uninterrupted experience in the study and actual administration of charity.

During the past three years child labor legislation has been adopted in many of the states of the Union, and those who have been most active in procuring that legislation have taken up in earnest the task of providing supplementary incomes, when needed, to replace the earnings of children excluded from employment by the new legislation. We now have back of us several years of observation and experience of the actual facts as they exist, and we can now put the hope that we expressed a few years before to the test of practical application.

In New York City the local child labor committee some fifteen months ago took this ground, that whenever the child labor law made it impossible for any child under fourteen years of age to be employed, if his previous earnings were a necessary element in the family income, it would give to that family, through the child, what it called a scholarship—a sum of money equal, as nearly as could be ascertained—to the amount the child would have earned, that is to say, from one to three dollars per week.

An individual member of that committee very generously offered to contribute the sum of twenty-five hundred dollars per annum, or such sum not exceeding that amount as might be necessary to

provide these scholarships. Notice of this offer was sent to all the superintendents and principals of the public schools, to the State Labor Department, charitable societies, truant officers, settlement workers and social agencies generally.

As the result of that experiment, 490 applications for scholarships were received from October 1, 1905, to December 15, 1906, Of these, 160 have been referred elsewhere, because the children were not of the age at which they could have been employed previously, that is to say, they were over fourteen, or were under twelve, and were not within the provisions of the recently enacted law. Of the remaining 330 applications coming within the age limits, 95 scholarships have been granted, that is a little less than 30 per cent. Bear in mind that these figures relate to the entire City of New York, with its population in round numbers of 4,250,000 of people, and that with all the publicity attached to this offer, and in the space of nearly fifteen months, only 95 cases have been found in which these scholarships should be given.

These scholarships are adjusted to the probable amount of the child's earnings, ranging from $1 to $3 per week, and the total present outlay per month is at the rate of $5,000 per year, that is to say, it is about $100 per week. It seems possible that in the course of another year there may be some further increase, although the number is very nearly stationary at present. It seems to be well within the mark to say that $10,000 at the very most will meet all the deficiencies that arise from the discontinuance of the employment of children by the new law, in so far as such income is a necessary part of the living expenses of the families. Here, as in nearly all the other cities reporting, the scholarship continues until the child reaches the age of legal employment, unless the need therefor ceases at an earlier date.

I have been struck, in examining the reports which have been received by the National Child Labor Committee from each of the larger cities of the country, on this question, to find the very different conditions that seem to exist in different cities. In Chicago, for instance, where a similar plan has been in operation, under the joint auspices of the Consumers' League and the Bureau of Charities, the total number of scholarships awarded during a period of three years is but fifteen. Only a small percentage of those who

filed applications for scholarships are found to be actually in need. The scholarships are largely provided by the women's clubs, though the investigations of the families and their oversight is in the hands of the Bureau of Charities. The scholarship is usually $3 per week.

In Philadelphia, the Public Education Association and Child Labor Committee have established the same plan, and there during the year ending June 30, 1906, the number of scholarships granted has been twenty-eight—about one-fifth of the total number of applicants. There also the investigation of the family is by the Charity Organization Society. The scholarships, ranging in amount from 75 cents to $4 per week, are adjusted, not on the basis of the probable earnings of the child if employed, but on the actual need of the family.

In St. Louis there is a compulsory school attendance law from which children may be excused, lawfully, on the ground of extreme poverty. The cases that have been so excused were inquired into recently as to the merits of the excuse, and it is reported (July, 1906) that so far as the investigation had gone it indicated that not more than fifty full term exemptions were granted during the past year, and judging by the results so far secured about twenty of these would prove to be cases calling for material assistance if the children attended school, and that the total expenditure for such aid would probably be covered by the sum of $1,000 per year. The Secretary of the Missouri Child Labor Committee reports: "In the case of parents claiming permanent or long-term exemptions in order that their children might work in stores or factories, a successful effort is being made this year in St. Louis to eliminate all such child labor by providing scholarships for children recommended for exemption by the truant officer. The chairman of the executive committee of the Children's Protective Alliance, Mr. W. O. Nelson, has proposed to the women's clubs of the city to share equally with them the expense of such scholarships; and pending action by the women's clubs, Mr. Nelson is personally providing for all these cases, after they have been reported on by the truant officer and carefully investigated by the agents of the St. Louis Provident Association. The cases, of course, accumulate gradually through the year as the truant officers continue their work, so that it is impossible to say at this date how many will present themselves *per annum*. I have not Mr. Nelson's authority

to say what the expense involved has thus far been. But a rough preliminary investigation of last year's long-term exemption cases indicated that the number of children properly entitled to scholarships would certainly not exceed fifty, and would probably be less than thirty. Something over a third of the cases approved for exemption by the attendance office are rejected after the Provident Association's investigation."

In Pittsburg, during the year ending June 30, 1906, the number of scholarships granted was three, the amount being $2 per week in each case.

The reply from Boston is, to my mind, very significant. I will quote one or two sentences: "Child labor has not been an issue in Massachusetts for many years. In the statutes of 1880 practically no employment of children under fourteen was permitted in school hours. There has been, therefore, in those who are dependents, no new problem to meet by keeping the children in school until fourteen, and there are no special scholarship funds or societies for such children. . . . The public outdoor relief, and the private charitable societies have always worked with the enforcement of the child labor law in mind." That is to say, the standards of relief, both on the part of the public authorities and of the private societies, have been such as contemplate a full enforcement of the child labor law; so that instead of receiving aid in the form of scholarships from some newly-established agency, the parents in case of need receive the aid in the form of relief either from the public officers or from private societies. That appears to be the state of affairs in a number of other cities. In Buffalo, for instance, we find that the health department sometimes refers families to the Charity Organization Society, where the operation of the law would otherwise seem likely to work hardship. The families receive relief on the usual plans, but without any system of scholarships.

In Minneapolis, the Associated Charities have adopted the scholarship plan, and during the year ending June 30, 1906, ten full scholarships were granted, and in some thirty other cases partial relief was given—a comparatively large number for a city of that size, as compared with other cities. About 10 per cent of the applications were approved for some form of aid.

It is to be noted that in most of the cities, but not in New

York, the amount of the scholarship is not based on the probable earnings of the child were he employed, but on the actual need of the family, aiming to make up the full amount that the family requires in order to live in accord with reasonable standards.

The Associated Charities in Kansas City reports that, while the scholarship idea as such has not been developed there, that society assists, from private sources, widows with children, so that the children may attend the public schools and need not be employed.

Such also is the report from Indianapolis, with the further statement that when the recent truancy and factory laws were passed it was expected that there would be a large increase in the demand upon the funds of that society for aiding widows, but as a matter of fact, there was but very little increase of that character.

In the City of Baltimore, the law has recently taken effect, and a plan has been adopted by which the bureau of labor and statistics refers to the Charity Organization Society all cases of apparent hardship, most of which, thus far, upon investigation, have been found not to be cases of actual need.

From Milwaukee, we have the report that there are no scholarships, but that the county superintendent of the poor extends additional relief to certain families when it would otherwise be a hardship to require the child to attend school. There are several such cases, and the plan is resulting in better attendance in the public schools.

The examination of these reports, with a study of the letters accompanying them, has suggested to me several conclusions, and especially this one—and I speak for myself only, and not as representing the views of the National Child Labor Committee, having had no opportunity for conference with them on this subject—that this is at bottom essentially a phase of the relief problem; that it is not primarily an educational problem or a problem of enforcement of law, but is a relief problem; and that all moneys given out in the form of scholarships, and under these circumstances, should be given with the same care and with the same adequacy and upon the same principles as govern the best relief work.

It is not an exceptional thing to find that there are new demands upon relief-giving societies, and that the standards heretofore deemed adequate are no longer adequate. It is frequently neces-

sary for such agencies and for such public officials to revise their judgments as to what constitutes adequate relief, and this is, after all, the fundamental thing in all charitable work. We may have been in error sometimes in the past, and have been superficially satisfied in entering upon the record of a family that it is "self-supporting" without looking far enough ahead, and without considering whether the family is self-supporting with full justice to its future, as well as to its present. It is quite possible that the family may be self-supporting now, but in such a manner as to insure the fact that in a very few years it cannot possibly be self-supporting. The incipient consumptive can remain at work and support his family for a considerable time, but with the certain result that at the end of a short time we will have upon our hands a widow and a family of children. We have revised our standards of relief-giving in view of our most recent knowledge of the treatment of tuberculosis. Similarly a widow can go out to work by the day for six days in the week, and thus be "self-supporting" and maintain her family, but with the certain result that in a comparatively short time her health must give way and we shall have upon our hands for an indefinite time a woman broken in health and a family of children. Under these circumstances, the families are not self-supporting in any proper sense of the term. Our conception of the amount and character of the relief that should be given must be extended and extended and again extended; and it is a similar step that we must take in applying our relief system to families in which there are children who would be employed except for our child labor laws.

While all this is true, and while in my opinion the scholarship is a passing phase of the relief problem, it has many tactical and temporary advantages. Charity has come to be something of a yellow dog. No one likes to receive charity; few persons particularly care to be engaged in dispensing relief. Institutions supported by charitable gifts always prefer to be known under some other heading. It may be well, therefore, not to raise that question for the moment and to disguise the relief under some pleasanter name. Furthermore, of course, those who are instrumental in securing child labor legislation feel, and very properly so, a certain moral responsibility for seeing that hardship does not result, even in a small degree, from the proposed legislation. Therefore, it is entirely

proper and justifiable—it is in some ways desirable—that they should be able to say to the community and to the legislators and to the public authorities that they know of their positive knowledge that the families deprived of the earnings of their children are not suffering; and that as an evidence of good faith they, from funds collected themselves, have met the need.

There are perhaps many communities in which relief work is not sufficiently well informed and organized, or is not sufficiently strong to meet this situation, and until they can be improved—until the relief agencies, public and private, can be educated and strengthened, and induced to adopt the larger view, it may be wiser and, in fact, may be highly important, that some temporary provision of scholarships be made.

The important thing, however, from the point of view of the National Child Labor Committee, is this, that the experience of the past four years has given us the measure of the problem. It has demonstrated the soundness of our earlier position; that the number of such families needing relief is small; that funds would be forthcoming to meet this need; that the problem is an easily managed one; and that poverty and parental dependence should not be an obstacle to progressive child labor legislation.

THE AWAKENING OF THE SOUTH AGAINST CHILD LABOR

By Dr. A. J. McKelway,

Assistant Secretary of National Child Labor Committee.

Two years ago, at the first annual meeting of this committee, I said, with reference to child labor in the South: "It is only necessary that the facts shall be carefully investigated and published, for the demand to become irresistible, from the people themselves, that an industry shall not be built upon the basis of child labor; nor will it be long before the will of a kind-hearted people shall be translated into humane laws, that we may again present a serene front to civilization."

Then followed a year of defeats to the child labor cause in the South, in North Carolina and Florida and Georgia and Mississippi and Louisiana, with no apparent advance, but rather a disastrous reaction, with the evil on the increase. But at the second annual meeting, with hope deferred but with faith unshaken, I said: "In spite of the ineffectiveness of present laws and the violation of solemn agreements (not to employ children under a specified age), and the utter absence of protective legislation in some of the states, I make bold to say, because I know my people and love my people, that the South is too kind-hearted to allow this sacrifice of her children."

And now it is a proud moment of my life, at this third annual meeting, when I can speak of the southern awakening against child labor as an accomplished fact. Our committee is able to report four splendid victories for our cause: in Maryland, where Dr. Lindsay's efficient aid has already been gratefully recognized by the friends of the children; in Kentucky, where Mr. Lovejoy's timely intervention, at a critical moment, reconciled conflicting views and secured the enactment of the best child labor law of any southern

state; in Louisiana, where the law was amended in the right direction; and in Georgia, where for the first time a child labor law has been enacted; the same legislature which had defeated what even the manufacturers called " a mild child labor bill," having passed at its second session, with but two dissenting votes in the House and unanimously in the Senate, a far more advanced bill, because that giant who rules America, who sometimes sleeps, but who once aroused is irresistible, had been awakened—Public Opinion. Nor is this all. The Democratic convention of Alabama, in nominating a prominent manufacturer for the office of governor, wrote child labor reform in no uncertain language into its party platform. From North Carolina and from Tennessee, from Florida and Mississippi and Louisiana and Texas, from the mother of states, old Virginia, and from the youngest daughter of the southern sisterhood, Oklahoma, there come cheering reports of an awakened public opinion, of an aroused public conscience; while in South Carolina the manufacturers are earnestly and sincerely pressing for the enactment of a compulsory education law which will help to solve the child labor problem. And at a meeting only this week in Kentucky, where the best brains and blood of the state were represented, among them the official of a powerful manufacturers' association, with representatives of the labor unions, a state committee of fifty was formed, with an associate membership that may be numbered by the hundreds, to amend and enforce the child labor law of Kentucky, and a message was sent from that gathering to Kentucky's representatives in the United States Senate to urge the passage of the child labor bills now pending in the National Congress.

This awakening of the South to its social problems is but a part of its awakening on every line of human progress. And there is with it all a new note of nationalism, sounding as clear as a bugle amidst the strife of partisan politics, the clash of selfish interests, and the dying groans of sectional prejudice, and that bugle note proclaims to willing ears, in the prophetic words of Ben Hill, of Georgia: "We are in the house of our fathers. Our brothers are our companions."

Forty years ago the South found itself with its labor system destroyed, its transportation system annihilated and the flower of its manhood under the sod. Its colleges which, while slightly fewer in number, yet employed more professors and matriculated more

students than the colleges of the rest of the nation, had their endowments swept away in the universal flood. A whole generation of students, who might have enriched the world with their contributions to literature and science, were following the plow to keep starvation from destroying what battle had spared. Nor was this all. There succeeded an era that was worse than the weary years of the war. The South had to endure not only the bitterness of defeat and the anguish of bereavement, but also the odium of having precipitated one of the costliest wars, in blood and treasure, that the world has known, and the additional odium of having been on the wrong side of the issue developed by the war, the perpetuation of human slavery. It, moreover, rested under the suspicion that its people did not accept the results of the war in good faith and could not be trusted to deal fairly with the ex-slaves. So the energies of the South, that might have been at once directed to its upbuilding, were employed in preserving the very life of our Caucasian civilization, the integrity of the race, and the maintaining of government against threatened anarchy. I believe the rehabilitation of the South during the decade after the war to be the proudest chapter in the history of the Anglo-Saxon race.

But during this decade the South became actually poorer than at the close of the war.

I am old enough to remember the bitterness of that poverty, and have learned to appreciate the heroism of the sacrifice that the fathers and mothers of the South made for the education and advancement of their children.

May I be pardoned for a word of personal reminiscence? I heard only this week in Washington a debate in the United States Senate over the District of Columbia child labor bill. One matter of grave discussion was the inquiry whether the little pages of the Senate would be deprived of the emoluments and advantages of their position during school hours by the terms of the bill. It had been agreed by the friends of the bill that such association was an education in itself. Then the Senate passed to the consideration of the widowed mother who had no other means of support than the labor of the immature child. And suddenly, to me, sitting there in the Senate gallery, there came the vision of my boyhood's home in old Virginia. We were "as poor as Job's old blue turkey-hen," as we used to say, and proud of it. It was at a time when it was

something of a disgrace to be rich, since that indicated that there had not been sufficient sacrifices for the Southern cause. I had been on a visit to Washington, where a prominent lawyer of the city had taken a fancy to the little boy, and, when I returned, a letter was sent offering me a position as a page in the Senate, with a salary that was then beyond the dreams of avarice. I never knew of the offer until it had been declined. I was just beginning to lay up my small store of Latin and Greek. A widowed mother had other ambitions for her son than the career in Washington offered before his education was finished. I do not know how hard the struggle may have been, but I do know what the decision was, and therefore I, this day, in this distinguished presence, with faltering voice and bowed head, do bless the memory of the sainted dead.

Let me say, in simple justice, that the awakening of the South was first of all an industrial awakening. The South had been able to maintain its cotton-growing monopoly. Its people had formerly turned from manufacturing to agriculture because of the conditions that accompanied slavery. Now they began to turn again to manufacturing. To-day it is difficult to exaggerate the extent of the advancement of the South along industrial lines. Last year the South manufactured more bales of cotton into yarn and cloth than all the mills of the rest of the nation. Birmingham has made Pittsburg sit up and take notice in the iron and steel works. The mineral resources of the South in coal and iron ore and petroleum are just beginning to be uncovered. The historic advice of Horace Greeley has been parodied to read, "Go South, young man, go South." But, lest this should read too much like a promoter's advertisement, consider finally the single fact that in the last two decades the cotton spindles of the South have increased from 667,000 to 9,500,000.

Then came the educational awakening. The most mortifying thing that can be brought to the attention of an intelligent Southerner to-day is the place of the Southern States in the illiteracy column. It is related of a North Carolinian, whose state had once been at the bottom of the list, that while visiting the Washington Library he glanced up at a wall-map with the states arranged according to the percentage of illiteracy, and, finding that his state no longer occupied the lowest place, he shouted, "Thank God for South Carolina." The story of this educational revival is familiar to all

in its more recent spectacular presentations, but the real history of the times is that of patient courage amidst great difficulties, the South steadfastly setting its face toward the education of two races, with a doubly expensive system on account of the necessary separation of the races in the public schools, and the two races being educated for the most part by the taxes paid by one.

And, now, with the increase of wealth, with a higher standard of wages and of living, with the school teachers going into all corners that the people may be taught, there has begun what I conceive to be the most significant movement of this generation, the application of the best minds of the South to the solution of those vital problems, to the advancement of those social reforms which are infinitely more important than the economic questions which have occupied so much of the thought of the nation, or the constitutional questions which have seemingly monopolized the theoretical statesmanship of the South. The interdependence of the business world throughout the nation was first established. Business men of all sections met upon the common platform of building up the business interests of the South. They discovered that we were one people before the preachers or the politicians had found it out. Then the educational leaders of the nation have been coming together in the series of southern conferences on education, and the North has found that it had something to learn from the South, while the South has been glad to gain from the experience of the North. The forming of a National Child Labor Committee marked an epoch in the development of this nation along the lines of social reform. The agitation had begun in the South, in Alabama, and the echoes of that battle for the children's rights was heard in Boston and awakened the New England conscience to the shame of having New England mill owners of southern mills, with good laws in their own states for the protection of the children, founding their industry in the South upon the basis of child labor. The fight progressed to victory in the passage of the first child labor laws of Alabama, North and South Carolina, and Virginia. Then it slowly grew upon the national consciousness that this was a national evil, that while the percentage of child laborers was greater in the South, the actual number of the little toilers was far greater in the North. And now no one speaks in a general way of this national curse with-

out coupling with the evil of child labor in the southern cotton mills that of the sweat-shops of New York, the glass factories of New Jersey, the coal mines of Pennsylvania.

But while the response of public opinion in the South to the appeal in behalf of the children, to the necessity of preserving with its wonted vigor the racial stock of the South, has been magnificent, it would be only a half truth to point that out without indicating also the defective and ineffective laws to which we have yet attained, and the long, slow, toilsome process by which those laws may be raised to the proper standard of effectiveness. The object of this reform is not to pass laws but to rescue the children from the mine and from the mill and to put them into the school.

Let us review briefly the present situation, first as to legislation, and then as to the number of children employed in one industry, which has been and still is the commanding industry of the South, but which may not long hold that position in the present general advance.

Except in Kentucky and Tennessee, the twelve-year standard yet obtains in the South. In South Carolina and in Georgia and in Alabama it is yet possible for a ten-year-old child, by permission of the law, to work twelve hours a day. There are sixty-six mills in North Carolina where twelve-year-old children may work a twelve-hour night, by law. The bald statement of these facts is a damning indictment. We have almost no machinery for the enforcement of the laws that we have, and their violation is a matter of common knowledge. Except in Kentucky and Maryland, we have no compulsory education laws in the South, though I regard it as a fallacy to say that we must put a child of tender years into the cotton mill, for instance, unless we can force him into the school. And the plea for compulsory education first has been made the instrument of sentencing thousands of little children to hard labor for no other crime than the supposed poverty of their parents, on the theory that little children, with no evil environments, from pure homes, be they ever so humble, must be forced to endure the long hours of the cotton mill, at constant employment, to keep them from becoming criminals. I resent that theory as a libel upon southern civilization.

Now, take a glance at the statistics. How many children, of

what ages, are now employed in southern cotton mills, nobody knows. The manufacturing organs that are inclined to boom the industry, as to capital invested, the sum of wages paid and the number of factories and spindles and looms, are apparently trying to convince the public that this vast industry is run with an insignificant body of human workers. The census bulletins of manufactures just issued for 1905 are far below, in the statistics of employees, the statements made by the same manufacturers, to the textile publications. And yet the percentage of children under sixteen reported by the manufacturers is enough almost to arouse a people to arms in their defense.

Yet the Bureau of Statistics and Information of Maryland reports that it has issued twice as many permits for children under sixteen at work as were reported by the manufacturers in the census bulletin of 1905. To ask a manufacturer, perhaps sensitive on the subject of employing children, perhaps afraid of incriminating himself, how many children under sixteen are employed in his establishment, is not the most scientific method of arriving at the truth. And yet when the census bureau compiles statistics gained in that way, the statement becomes an authority.

Fortunately for the cause of the children, a recent study of the population tables of 1900 gives the result of that house to house canvass, as to the number of children, ten to fifteen years of age, engaged in particular industries. From that we learn (census bulletin 69) that three out of ten operatives in southern cotton mills are from ten to fifteen years of age. This takes no account of a quite appreciable number of children under ten so employed.

An estimate of mine, published a year ago, that there were sixty thousand children under fourteen in the southern cotton mills has been widely challenged and abusively denied. The Blue Book, a recognized authority on textile statistics, corrected every year from the reports of the manufacturers, gives in actual numbers, or by fair computation from the few mills not reporting the number of their employees, the sum of 209,000 operatives in the cotton mills of the south. But three out of ten is thirty per cent, or 62,700 children from ten to fifteen years of age, to which two or three thousand should be added for children under ten years of age. It is my opinion that the percentage of children employed has increased since 1900 on account of the shortage of the labor supply and the

demand for more operatives caused by the increase of fifty-five per cent in the number of spindles since 1900. The figure given, 60,000 children under fourteen, is thus seen to be a conservative estimate.

I quote again the statement made by Mr. R. M. Miller, Jr., of Charlotte, N. C., formerly president of the Southern Cotton Spinners' Association, later president of the American Cotton Manufacturers' Association, considered an expert in cotton mill matters, that 75 per cent of the spinners of the North Carolina mills were fourteen years and under, while his predecessor in office, Mr. George B. Hiss, of Charlotte, told me that the usual calculation was that only 30 per cent of the operatives were adults.

Nor is this all. From the mines of Alabama and Tennessee and Virginia and Kentucky comes the cry of the children, some of them allowed to work by law at the age of twelve, some of them working contrary to the law at that age. From the woolen mills of Virginia and Tennessee comes the same bitter cry; from the cigar factories of Florida, from its canning factories; from the silk mills, from the phosphate mines, the children stretch out their feeble hands to us for help. Pity them? pity the children? Of course we do. But there is a more serious problem here. We are brought face to face with the fact that the depreciation of our racial stock has already begun, that we have a cotton mill type that can be recognized, that the percentage of illiteracy in the mill villages surpasses even that of the mountain counties of some of our states, and that there is already beginning, in a few factory centers, a moral collapse of which I hardly dare speak. And the South must face this more startling fact that its awakening has come too late, just as it came too late in England, to save a whole generation of its children. The South, with its traditions of states rights, must answer this question: Shall we, for the sake of one application of one constitutional theory, fail to ask the aid of our national government in securing an effective law and condemn a generation of our precious children that might be saved? I believe I know what the answer will be. We will build monuments to our fathers, but we will not cut ourselves among their tombs. Dead hands, long ago folded reverently and lovingly upon the breast, must not hold back the little children of the South from their rightful heritage. While the politicians may find an issue, the people,

whose hearts have ever beaten true, will have a word to say on this subject.

Believing in states rights, but also believing in the sacred rights of childhood, I would deplore the making of any such issue as shall put the rights of the state over against the rights of the child, because the child will win. The very stars in their courses are fighting for his rights, and the obituary of the Herods will be the epitaph on the tombs of dead politicians: "They are dead that sought the young child's life."

A moral revolution is sweeping over the nation, and the South is doing its part to swell the wave. After all, the south is a small part of the manufacturing life of the nation. We are as yet a rural people, loving the homely virtues of the soil. But it seems to me that the manufacturing and mining interests of the nation should take some recent warnings to heart.

When the President called the coal operators and the coal miners to a conference, which referred their differences to arbitration, public sentiment was divided as to the rights of the two parties to the contention. But when in the course of that investigation the fact was developed of the wholesale employment of boys in the mines, public sentiment instantly veered to the side of the miners.

Two years ago the business men of highest repute in this country were the insurance officials. A family quarrel in one of the insurance companies led to an investigation. That investigation proved the misuse of trust funds, the final result of which was the robbery of the children, orphaned by the death of the bread-winners; and now Alexander is in a madhouse, McCall is dead of a broken heart, the McCurdy's are banished, and all because in offending the public conscience the children were also touched.

Six months ago the trust question was a subject of academic discussion. Then one great trust was found to be poisoning the people with unwholesome meat, while others were convicted of adulterating food and drink and medicine and even the candy which the children craved. And now all are involved in indiscriminate condemnation, so that every time the department of justice begins a new prosecution the joyful people send a message of sympathy to the White House saying, "Hit 'em again."

The protective tariff is just now a matter of academic discus-

sion. This committee, as a committee, has nothing to do with it. I suppose that it embraces all shades of opinion on that subject. But let this discussion of a national child labor law become the burning question in Congress, let the manufacturers or the coal combinations oppose it there, let the discussion develop the real facts of child slavery, and it is easy to predict that those who claim the right of the exploitation of infant industry will have fatally damaged their claim for the protection of infant industries.

For this nation, of which the South is a loyal part, has set its face already as a flint against the oppression of childhood. It is not going to tolerate it one instant longer than it can be helped. And the danger always is, in a democracy, that when it has become passionately aroused it may be indiscriminate in its punishment. There is no power on earth like the appeal which helpless childhood makes. There is no vengeance like that of the lioness robbed of her whelps. And woe betide those who would stand in the way of this nation, once it has heard the piteous cry of the children, and is rushing to their defense and their salvation.

SOME OF THE ULTIMATE PHYSICAL EFFECTS OF PREMATURE TOIL

By Albert H. Freiberg, M.D.,

Chairman of Ohio State Child Labor Committee.

It is greatly to be regretted that it is as yet not possible to present to this committee a comprehensive report upon the physical effects of premature toil, based upon a thorough and scientific investigation. Many persons express surprise at learning that up to this time no such study has been made. In the course of a recent effort to improve the child labor law of this state, a discussion developed between the committee and a group of manufacturers objecting to certain of its provisions, the committee seeking to show that ten hours of work daily must be considered injurious to the organism of boys between the ages of fourteen and sixteen, even though the employment involved no great muscular exertion. We were met with the request to furnish reliable evidence that this is the case; evidence which we were unable to produce, even though we were perfectly sure in our own minds of the truth of our statement. It is apparent that the value of such evidence would be exceedingly great in the efforts to secure for the growing child its natural rights; of which efforts this meeting is so vigorous an expression.

Unless one has devoted some thought to the subject, it might appear to be a task of no great difficulty or magnitude to collect the data incident to such an investigation. However, the reverse is true, as may be seen from the following requirements, which are none too severe if reliable information is to be obtained.

It should be required:

(*a*) That the investigation comprehend a large number of children in each of the groups to be mentioned.

(*b*) That the measurements be made by those familiar with such work, in order that they may be trustworthy; and by persons competent to detect physical abnormities even in their beginnings.

(*c*) That a sufficient number of measurements be taken of each child so as to insure a convincing record of its physical condition.

(*d*) That the children be examined upon beginning their factory life and at certain intervals until the termination of adolescence.

(*e*) That comparative investigation be made of a large number of children of the same types who have not been engaged in gainful occupations during the most active period of adolescence.

The value of such an investigation may well be considered inestimable. It would determine beyond doubt whether the charge of physical deterioration from premature toil is a just one or not and would fix definitely the responsibility of the state in the protection of its future citizens and mothers. We feel sufficiently sure of the result of such an investigation, made with skill and impartiality, as to court it most ardently. Upon thoughtful consideration it must, however, appear that the means and power necessary for the execution of so comprehensive a program cannot be within the reach of a private association. This should be a function of government, and the need for it might well be looked upon as one of the most important arguments for the establishment of a Children's Bureau at Washington.

In the absence of data dealing with the investigation of large numbers of toiling children and based upon a systematic plan of observation and record, it may nevertheless be of interest to call attention to certain effects of a purely physical character which professional experience has for years been accustomed to look upon as the results of environment and occupation, and especially when considered with reference to the physical peculiarities of the child between the ages of ten and sixteen years. In doing this, effort will be made to avoid that which is purely technical, but also that which is in any way still a matter of supposition rather than observation, and therefore not generally accepted.

The rôle of the play hours in the development of the young child, his innate desire for physical activity and especially in the open, are well recognized by all laymen, and there are few indeed who will not acknowledge how important these are in promoting the formative processes which are at this time of life actively going on. The statement that this natural desire for movement and exercise cannot be balked in the child eight to ten years of age, without

damage to his physical progress, will meet with little protest, and for the present discussion this is of minor importance, since, by far the greater number of children at work have at least passed their tenth year, and since no state, whose statutes do not ignore the question altogether, has ventured to place the limit for work below this. When the child arrives at its twelfth year, however, it enters a period which, lasting until its seventeenth year as a rule, is characterized not only by those changes of disposition, of mind and soul, of body and appearance, embraced by the term "puberty," but a period also during which the body experiences its most rapid growth in length. As the bones grow longer, at this rapid rate, the muscles controlling these bones must grow longer with them. The muscles must, however, increase not only in length but in volume if their strength is to be proportionate to the ever-increasing demands made upon them. That this increase of volume, therefore, of strength, is dependent upon exercise, is common knowledge; that lack of use causes wasting and therefore weakening of muscle is no less so. It is likewise well known that excessive exercise of certain muscles will result not in increase of strength but in degeneration and weakening, and that there is no surer way of inducing great fatigue than by using the same set of muscles for a long time without change, thus giving no opportunity for what is called rest but what is really the replenishing of muscle material which has been consumed. Let us now apply these statements in practice; to the case of a girl feeding material to a machine and sitting in one position for hours at a time; to the case of a boy handling small articles of manufacture, having perhaps nothing more to do than to remove them from one machine to another close by, or to perform, in the standing position, a set of movements with rapidity but involving no test of strength whatever. Such work commonly develops quickness of eye and dexterity of fingers. It is certainly not looked upon as involving physical strain of any account. Here lies the fallacy; standing and sitting are looked upon as passive and involving no great muscular action. If this were true, why should we then tire so much more easily from standing than from walking, since this apparently requires much more use of the muscles; why so much more easily from holding a weight continuously in one position than from moving it in various directions.

As a matter of fact, standing and sitting are possible only by

active muscular work, and, when prolonged, have connected with them the disadvantage of permitting but little change of activity to other muscles. It cannot be surprising to learn, therefore, that under these circumstances the tissues yield under unrelieved strain; that the leg and trunk muscles become excessively fatigued and thus compel the assumption, for relief, of faulty postures and attitudes which can at first be voluntarily departed from, but which finally take the place of the normal and leave the child more or less permanently deformed. Thus it is that, even before the advent of modern factory employment, certain deformities were recognized as being associated with certain occupations; the expression "baker's legs," for example, will be found in surgical treatises written many years ago. The argument that the labor performed by the child is not hard is therefore only a specious one. Keeping a growing individual at an occupation, for ten hours daily, which involves the use of only a limited set of muscles, when he is at an age when nature prompts running and jumping, deprives him of the need for deep breathing, and therefore expansion of the chest, which these bring with them, and of the stimulus to the blood circulation which, although often harmful to the man past middle age, is of the greatest value to the developing organism.

However desirable it may be to preserve the normal form and symmetry of the human body, that it may be agreeable to look upon, there is underlying this a factor of greater import to humanity than mere personal vanity. This is the economic factor which takes into account the future of the individual, after the period of immaturity has passed and the child has become the citizen and has assumed the responsibilities of parentage. Whatever can be shown to now permanently impair wage-earning capacity or to interfere with the performance of family duties, or indeed to shorten the tenure of life, will be acknowledged by all to be of prime importance. I shall not refer to such conditions as general weakness or diminished chest capacity and the tendency to acquire disease in consequence thereof, but rather to certain definite deformities which I have had frequent opportunity for observing, both in process of formation and in their final results.

For the present, the various occupations of toiling children may be grouped according as the work is done in standing or

sitting position. In general, and there are of course many exceptions, boy's work requires standing and girl's work sitting. It may also be said, in the same general way, that the work which the boy does standing is an apprenticeship for work which the man also does, as a journeyman, in the standing position. This is correspondingly true of girl's work. Standing occupations naturally involve the feet and legs in greatest strain, and more especially the feet. In consequence we see developing, during the adolescent years, that condition known as weak and flat foot. This frequently occurs in the adult also from causes of similar nature, but only too frequently the result of conditions and weakening which must be attributed to the period of active growth. The deformity acquired in adult years, though it may be disabling and painful in high degree, but rarely assumes the severe form so frequently seen in the later period of adolescence as a sad testimony of the child's experience. Commonly, the foot loses its strength and shape gradually, so that, at this time, but little notice is taken of it. Later, when the child has become the father, and the necessity for continuous employment is apparent, the feet only too frequently become so painful that long abstention from work is imperative, and it happens not rarely that an entire change of employment cannot be avoided; thus are lost the skill and aptitude acquired during the period of prematurity; for while medical science can do much for these unfortunates, they are often debarred from continuing in trades requiring constant standing. Frequently upon coming under medical care the condition is such that nothing short of a long stay in hospital will prove availing, and this means loss of income if not loss of independence for a greater or less period. I doubt whether it is generally realized how frequently such conditions are met as those to which I have just referred. While originally uttered in a somewhat different sense, the saying seems here most appropriate that "the boy without play is the father without a job." When the one weekly holiday comes, the accumulated fatigue of the week's standing is apt to be so great that only the exceptionally robust have the desire for outdoor exercise left in them. The day is therefore only too often used for repose of the body, which, while furnishing relief to the excessively fatigued muscles, does nothing for the remainder of the organism, which would otherwise invite active movement in the open air.

Turning now to the girl in the sitting occupation, I would attract your attention to the frequent occurrence of curvature of the spine, spoken of as "lateral curvature." This deformity is often seen in school children and even in those leading luxurious lives. It betokens a weakness of fiber and a need for physical culture, which is, however, to be controlled by proper treatment. When this is within reach, the progress of the deformity is checked so that it does not become a menace to health, and it is objectionable chiefly as constituting an esthetic defect which the skilful dressmaker is usually able to conceal.

Were this, however, the extent of the damage done to the organism by lateral curvature, I should have nothing to say of it in this place. It becomes of importance in this connection, however, because it is so frequently seen in girls who have been engaged in sitting occupations during the developmental period and because in them it assumes not only the rôle of a deformity of most severe type, not simply a most unfortunate disfigurement, but also because it now constitutes a very serious menace to health and the attainment of longevity of even average degree. I shall not discuss the deformity in detail except to say that when assuming the severe grades under discussion, its effects reach far beyond the spine itself, which bends not simply to one side or the other, but is always markedly twisted on its vertical axis also. In this twist the chest participates fully, so that not only is its power of expansion greatly interfered with, but its capacity is reduced and much crowding and displacement of the vital organs contained within can be determined. Small wonder, then, that such severe degree of lateral curvature adds greatly to the likelihood of developing pulmonary consumption and that the heart cannot be thus pushed aside with impunity. It has been ascertained that, for these reasons, the duration of life of individuals with severe lateral curvature is far below the average. The remoter effect of the deformity upon the pelvis of the girl I need only mention to the extent of saying that here, too, a distortion and diminution of normal capacity frequently results, so that this has always been recognized by medical men as of potentially serious influence upon the maternal function.

In conclusion it is to be said that these deformities are by no means confined exclusively to the one sex or the other; neither is

it to be interpreted that they occur in every child who works, or even in the greater number. It is asserted, however, that these deformities in the severe forms before referred to are particularly frequent among toiling children, or those who have toiled as children. That the unfavorable influences of premature toil are only too often augmented by unfortunate home influences, by dwellings that are unfit, by insufficient and improper food, does not alter the case. I have aimed to speak of these deformities in particular, because of their serious nature and because I have had abundant opportunity for observing them. On the other hand, it is not to be overlooked that these are by no means the only, or even the most common, evidences of physical deterioration to be observed among working children.

CHILD LABOR IN THE SOFT COAL MINES

By Owen R. Lovejoy,

Assistant Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee.

The committee's investigations of child labor in the soft coal region have extended over sections of Pennsylvania, Maryland and West Virginia. The field thus far studied does not justify us in attempting any estimate of the number of children employed. Child labor in the bituminous industry differs from that in the anthracite, as in the former there is no slate picking and the children employed are inside the mine. They work as runners, drivers, door boys and couplers, while perhaps the larger percentage are employed with their fathers in loading coal.

In one Pennsylvania mining borough where from 1,000 to 1,200 people are employed in the mines, it was estimated by several of the miners, two mine superintendents, the chief burgess and the superintendent of schools that between 175 and 200 boys under 16 were employed in the mines. The comment of the superintendent of schools is significant. He says: "Last year I received certificates signed by doctors certifying that children were unable to attend school on account of physical disability and we afterward found the children working in the mine. Of course, we got them back in school. Men take boys in the mine actually so small they can hardly carry their dinner bucket without dragging it, in order to claim an extra half turn, *i. e.*, more cars to fill. The cause of this is that there are too many workers in the mine so as to have more tenants for the company houses and more customers for the company stores. All are expected to trade at the company store." A borough policeman added that it was not difficult to get a small boy in the mines. He said: "I take my boy to the superintendent and tell him a hard luck story, and especially if I have a big family and trade at the company store, he will take him in. They do not ask for certificates of age in the mines here."

These expressions throw light on several causes of the employment of young children in the coal mines. These causes may be roughly classified as follows:

First. The Company Store and the Company House.—It is claimed by many miners and citizens in the coal region that where the mining companies maintain general stores and own a number of houses for rent, they customarily bring to the region a larger number of people than can be regularly employed. The result is that while the mine is operated every day, each miner will get from three to four days' work in a week, while the number of coal cars assigned each man in a day is limited. If a man finds it impossible to maintain his family under these conditions he is tempted to take his own boys into the mine and on their account is allowed fifty per cent more cars (called a half turn) than if working alone. Sometimes it is said these boys are too small to be of any real assistance, but their presence enables the father, by over-working, to earn a larger wage. This explanation seems justified in many localities, while in others the number of cars supplied to the workers is unlimited, and the management vigorously discourages child labor.

Second. Racial Traits.—We may illustrate this by one borough found in the central part of Pennsylvania, inhabited principally by Swedes and Italians in about equal numbers. Although in the lower grades of school the Swedish and the Italian children are about equally divided, in the third and fourth grades the Italian children begin rapidly to drop out and large numbers were found in the mines, while the Swedish children remain in school and go through the grammar grades, and several of them into the high school. It was a small borough and the schools were not graded up to the standard of other borough and city schools, but so far as the opportunities afforded, those Swedish fathers and mothers were keeping their children in school and out of the mines. Yet the houses occupied by the two races were very similar: their economic condition appeared much the same. The Swedes had perhaps lived in the community a little longer and therefore were a little more independent than the Italians, but the necessity for protecting these children of the Italians against the misguided ambition of their parents is evident. These people are ignorant of our English language, ignorant of the value of our American institutions, ignorant of the

handicap they are placing on their little ones by this premature employment. The necessity for the larger parent, the state, intervening to protect the children against their own parents is very well illustrated by the case of a little boy I discovered some weeks ago down in the mines in West Virginia. Two years ago, at the age of eleven, he came to school unable to understand a word of English. Through an older Italian girl who had learned the English language the superintendent said to the little fellow that he was glad to have him there and that the school desired to do all it could to help him. Goaded on by the sense of being placed in a class with little children six and seven years of age while he was eleven, he was spurred to his best endeavors, and through those two years he passed successfully through the first, the second, the third, the fourth, the fifth, the sixth, and the seventh grades of the school. But at the end of those two years, just a few months ago, his father, an industrious, hard-working, patient Italian, thought the boy's education was complete and took him out of school. He took him away, outside the borough limits and beyond the jurisdiction of the school, and down three hundred feet underground to load coal, a mile and a half from daylight! And little John, who would perhaps have been developed into one of our great artists or educators or statesmen had he been permitted to remain in school, now probably has educational opportunities closed to him forever.

In the anthracite field the same sacrifice of the so-called foreign child is found.

In one of the anthracite mining boroughs of Pennsylvania, with a school population of about 3,500, we found the people divided into two broad classes, Americans and foreigners. By "American" in that community was meant Americans, English, Scotch, Irish, Welsh and Germans, wherever they may have been born. By "foreigner" was meant Lithuanians, Greeks, Magyars, Italians, Poles—a large number of races lumped off together as foreigners, or "Slavs," "Huns," "Dagoes," or by some other term, according to the moral and intellectual standpoint of the person describing them. There were these two classes, Americans and foreigners. In the lower grades of school they compared very favorably. In the first two or three grades the foreign children—that is, the children of those called Slavs—slightly outnumbered the Amer-

ican children. As we came up through the first two or three grades, they began to drop out, and by the time they reached the fourth grade the ranks of the foreign children were sadly depleted, so that at the end of the grammar school they had nearly disappeared, and in the high school of ninety-nine pupils there were only eleven of these foreign children. But I found this curious circumstance through comparison of the American and foreign children, that while there were only eleven foreign children out of ninety-nine in the high school, the honors for scholarship in the first and second grades of the high school were held by young Lithuanians, while the valedictorian of class 1905 was a young Jewess born in Russia. If we are to serve these elements that are coming to us from all shores, if we are to give them the chance to partake of our civilization and become familiar with the principles of our government, then it becomes our duty as American citizens, not out of pity for these children, but out of consideration for our democratic institutions, to offer them, not the worst we have, but the best we have—access to all our public institutions and privileges.

Third. The Attitude of the Mine Management.—Sometimes in the same community the widest disparity is found between different mines. In one mining town in Central Pennsylvania we found two mines located on the same hillside. The thickness of the veins was about equal in the mines. The general conditions of mining, so far as could be discovered by one who does not understand the technical problems of mining or of mining conditions, were about equal. One of these mines is operated by a large concern closely identified with a great railroad corporation, and there I discovered not less than ten per cent, and possibly fifteen per cent, of all the employees were boys under sixteen years of age. The other mine was an independent concern, and so far as we could find not a boy under sixteen years of age was employed. One enemy of this mining company who was interviewed said he believed there were two or three boys not sixteen years of age, but was not quite sure. This we regarded as rather strong testimony in favor of that company from one not in sympathy with it. This does not reflect upon the organization of the mine itself, for in other places we found the reverse true. The large corporations were freer from child employment than some of the independent concerns. This instance is given only to show that in the same locality the difference seemed entirely

due to the attitude of the mining superintendents. The superintendent in the one where the children were employed said he went to work when he was only eight years old, and it was the best thing that ever happened to him. He thought if the boy had not enough education when he reached twelve years of age to get through life successfully, he was no good anyway, and the sooner he went to work the better. The other superintendent, who had formerly been a superintendent of schools, said he cherished for every boy in that community the largest educational opportunity. He said: "If I know it, no boy gets inside this mine or any other mine in this borough until he has had a fair opportunity to lay the foundation for an American education."

Fourth. Conditions of Labor.—A coal mining community in Maryland presents a striking contrast between mines located on opposite sides of the same mountain. In one, an independent concern, it was estimated by several of the employees, and was the judgment of the investigator who saw all the people going into the mines, that not less than forty per cent of those employed were under sixteen years of age; while in the other, a large railroad mining company, six or seven of whose mines were visited, no boys under sixteen could be found. We attempted to discover the reason for this disparity. There seemed to be no sentiment in the community that would have turned the boys toward one mine and away from the other, but on examination we found widely differing conditions of labor in the mines. In the first mine where the boys were employed the vein is from three and a half to four feet thick. Small mules are used for hauling in the mines, because the company does not care to excavate more earth than is necessary to get the coal out from the headings. For driving these mules boys are convenient, as also for tending doors and for loading cars. In the other mines the vein is a large one, running from eight and a half to nine feet in thickness. The work is very heavy. The cars are large, and the boys are not found profitable there. The differences were due entirely to natural conditions. This illustrates clearly the error of attempting to take one mining operation or one factory, or one sweat shop, or one institution of any kind in the study of this problem, and making a generalization that covers the whole field.

Fifth. Defective Laws.—In Pennsylvania, a boy cannot legally be employed in the anthracite mines until sixteen years of age. He

may be employed outside the mine in the breakers at fourteen. At twelve years of age he may be employed in a bituminous mine if accompanied by his father, though he may not go in the mine independently until he is sixteen years of age. Because of the defective law, making it impossible to prove the age of the child, boys two or three years younger than twelve years of age are employed in the bituminous mines. Many whose parents confessed that the boys were ten and eleven years of age were found employed in some of the soft coal mines of Pennsylvania.

In Maryland and West Virginia the school and child labor laws are little better, and where industrial conditions offer the temptation, the employment of children is extensive. The school opportunities in many of these districts are very meager. Sections rich in coal deposits and laden with the clouds of smoke from the coke oven, have no accessible school privileges above the primary grades, while probably not over five per cent of the children of many of these communities pass beyond the grammar grades. One mining village in West Virginia was found containing about fifty homes with no school whatever, the nearest school house being said by a neighboring school principal to be a mile and a half down the railroad—there is no public highway—and several citizens of the village expressed their doubt whether any of the children ever attended school there. The great educational awakening in West Virginia, however, gives promise that in the near future adequate school privileges will be provided for every child in the state. The same, I believe, may be said of the educational awakening in both the other states now under consideration. In Pennsylvania the activity of the school superintendents stationed in these mining sections is remarkable. Most of these teachers have the burden of this problem heavily upon their souls, and many are working beyond their strength to find some way to keep the child from being exploited, and to keep it in school.

An important aim of the National Child Labor Committee is to co-operate actively with the school superintendents, the factory inspectors and other officers of those states for the enactment of such laws as will lift the burden, will make it easy instead of hard to have the law enforced, will make it natural instead of unnatural to have the truth told.

We have been misunderstood frequently in speaking of the disposition on the part of many parents to deceive regarding the age of their children, and we were recently accused of charging widespread perfidy among the mining population of Pennsylvania. Of course, such a criticism is ridiculous. Consider one of these foreign parents who was never in school; knows nothing about reading or writing even in his own language. His child has been going to school for three or four years. The parent believes that now the child would be a valuable asset in the family income. Perhaps his labor is greatly needed. The parent believes he has already had sufficient opportunity to gain knowledge and that the best thing for the child is to put him to work.

Many times, in fact, these parents do not know the nature of the oath they take. I chanced in the office of a notary public some months ago in Pennsylvania, and there came a man, evidently a foreigner, with his boy, apparently about nine years of age. The man, in broken English, said he wanted "work paper" for the boy. The notary public was not in town that day. His brother, who was a traveling salesman for a local brewery, was in, and possibly desiring to receive the fee of twenty-five cents offered by the State of Pennsylvania for this valuable official service, he sat down at the table and asked the man his name and the name of the boy. Then he began to write. That was all the conversation that passed between them. After writing he stood up and read something which I did not understand and this foreigner could not understand, raised his hand and motioned to the man to do the same. Taking the paper—my errand not known at the time—I found that this little fellow was born on a certain day fourteen years and two weeks before, and therefore was two weeks over the legal age limit for employment. Such is the confusion that is spread throughout the community. The boy goes into the mine after being in this country about two months. The school authorities had not yet discovered him; it would have been impossible to do so. If a mine inspector discovers what his age is he also discovers an official document of the State of Pennsylvania saying that the child is fourteen years of age and is entitled to be employed. If he takes legal action to remove the boy from the mine he may be doing justice to a boy here and there, and he may do injustice to some other boy who is undersized but of the proper age.

Here, as in the anthracite region, the cost in life and limb forms a large percentage of our national expenditure for the production of coal. In this industry as in others employing young children, the children bear more than their share of the risk, except that the miners and their laborers engage in the extra hazardous department of the industry. Sam Madill is, unfortunately, not an exception in this region. Going into the mines when he was but thirteen years of age, he worked until two years ago, when he was run over by a car in the mine and his foot taken off. Then he came to school for two years, and is now employed as a clerk in a thriving mining village. We are told that many of the monks in the middle ages believed it necessary that the body should be mutilated in order for the soul to grow. Was there significance in this belief which led many of them to wound, expose, torture and cripple their bodies almost beyond recognition? Evidently the promoters of child labor in the coal fields think so, for in every large coal-producing community one meets on the street boys and men who bear evidence to the bodily cost of their employment.

On the theory of compensation, the children of the coal regions, deprived of school, in early years taken to work in the dark corridors of the mine, should have as the reverse side of their life picture a home of comfort and attractiveness. To many of them even this is denied. The coke-producing section of the soft coal fields presents a weird spectacle to the stranger. At night the string of coke ovens, perhaps half a mile in length, is strangely beautiful, as the night is lighted up by the winding line of flames, the dense cloud of smoke being brightly illuminated. By day the scene is desolation. No vegetation can grow in the shade of the coke oven smoke, and for many hundred feet on either side of the works appears no grass or flower or living tree, but grimy, unpainted houses, muddy streets and alleys and foul stenches from the unsewered yards. Yet with all the wealth of our national life and the unmeasured hidden treasures of these coal regions, this is the type of surroundings we offer hundreds of little children through all the days of childhood—this is their only definition of home.

The National Child Labor Committee would urge upon the judgment and conscience of the American people the necessity of so amending the child labor and educational laws of the coal-pro-

ducing states as to render it impossible for any child under sixteen years of age to engage in any labor inside a coal mine. We also heartily endorse the recommendation of the chief mine inspector of Pennsylvania that certain forms of labor which expose to special danger should be limited to those of higher age; that runners should not be less than seventeen, loaders not less than eighteen, nor miners under twenty-one. But in the interest of safety, education and economic progress, we must protest against allowing a child of fourteen years of age inside a coal mine. The large percentage of accidents to mine workers under sixteen years of age and to non-English speaking workmen of all ages, is sufficient evidence of the necessity for such legislation as shall guarantee every boy who contemplates this dangerous employment both time and opportunity for the development of sound judgment, physical growth and a fair education.

THE EXTENT OF CHILD LABOR IN THE ANTHRACITE COAL INDUSTRY[1]

By Owen R. Lovejoy,

Assistant Secretary National Child Labor Committee.

The specific question proposed for discussion at this meeting is framed in the call recently issued by the National Civic Federation:

> It is claimed on the one side that there are 12,000 boys under fourteen years of age in the anthracite coal breakers, whereas officials of the State of Pennsylvania, after investigating the matter, claim that there are not over 8,100 all told under sixteen, and that with only 760 of them is there any doubt about their being over fourteen—the age beyond which no attempt is made to prevent employment.

When any statement is made that seems to throw new light upon the condition of child labor in our country, it is incumbent upon every one interested to analyze that statement and the method by which it was obtained. For this reason the National Child Labor Committee cordially accepts the invitation to engage in this discussion, not for the purpose of confirming or disproving any statement, but in a candid endeavor to arrive at the facts.

In an address delivered by the speaker before the National Child Labor Committee at the second annual meeting in Philadelphia, December 7, 1905, is the following paragraph:

> In every part of the region visited child labor was found to exist. No colliery has been visited in which children have not been found employed at ages prohibited by the law of the state. Various estimates have been given of the number of boys under fourteen and under sixteen years employed in and about the hard coal mines of Pennsylvania. The figures have ranged from 6,000 to 12,000 under fourteen years. All of these estimates are generalizations, based upon specific data which may, and may not, be

[1] This paper was read at the meeting of the National Civic Federation, New York, December 12, 1906, and, in part, in the proceedings of the Third Annual Meeting of the National Child Labor Committee. It is, therefore, included in this volume.

sufficient. Our own estimates are based on the study of a number of boroughs believed to be typical of the region, and have been gathered in cooperation with school officials, mine officers, and other citizens interested in the moral aspects of our work. Without entering upon a detailed discussion of the statistics collected, it may be stated that we have estimated not less than 9,000 or 10,000 boys under fourteen years of age in the mines and breakers of the region, while the percentage in one borough investigated, if carried through the entire region, would give a total of 12,800. By the laws of the state no child under fourteen years of age may be employed at any labor about a coal mine.

Reference had previously been made to the extent of child labor in and about the hard coal mines in an article published under my signature in the *Outlook*, August 26, 1905, as follows:

Dr. Peter Roberts, in "The Anthracite Coal Communities," has estimated that there are in the anthracite region 6,400 boys under fourteen years of age employed in and about the mines. He based his estimate on the number found in "an area in which 4,131 persons wholly dependent upon the mines lived," and adds that "in other sections of the coal fields the evil of employing children under age in breakers and mines is worse than in our limited area." If the borough we are now studying were to be taken as a basis for such a generalization, the number of boys under fourteen years of age working in the anthracite coal industry would be 12,800 instead! The actual number lies probably between these two figures, but until some accurate method of determining the age of the children has been applied the exact number will never be known.

Possibly it is to one of these statements this call refers. It is doubtless to one of the above utterances the Honorable Chief of the Department of Mines refers in his anthracite report for 1905, in the following paragraph:

During the latter part of 1905 a man by the name of Lovejoy made a tour of the anthracite counties inquiring into the ages of boys employed at the mines. In blazing head-lines the daily papers published, on Mr. Lovejoy's authority, the statement that 10,000 boys were found at work in and about the breakers who were under the legal employment age of fourteen years. A newspaper reporter called my attention to this report, and asked if it was true. I answered that to the best of my knowledge it was not true; that it was a very extravagant statement. One of the district inspectors was also asked regarding the report, and he denied its accuracy, stating that in his opinion there were not more than 2,000 boys who were below the employment age, and even they had certificates from their parents or guardians to show that they were over fourteen.

It is unfortunate that Mr. Roderick was led by "blazing headlines" in "the daily papers" to print in his official report a direct charge of extravagant statement against one whose study of the subject had been entirely friendly and whose statements had never suggested either laxness or inefficiency in the inspection department. But we are confident that a frank discussion will remove any cause for misunderstanding, and the National Child Labor Committee welcomes this opportunity to explain its methods of investigation and of compiling estimates.

It should first be observed that the statement "in blazing headlines" was never made by my authority or the authority of the National Child Labor Committee that "10,000 boys were found at work in and about the breakers who were under the legal employment age of fourteen years." It was said, discussing the estimate made by Dr. Peter Roberts, "if the borough we are now studying were taken as a basis for such a generalization, the number of boys under fourteen years of age working in the anthracite coal industry would be 12,800." It was also specifically said in this same paper, "but until some accurate method of determining the age of the children has been applied, the exact number will never be known."

The Method of Computing.

The borough under consideration was one containing a population of 6,400, with between 2,300 and 2,400 people working in the mines; with a school population of 1,636, a school enrollment of 1,071, and an average attendance of 700. A list of eighty pupils who had left school under the legal age was taken and a personal investigation made of thirty-nine, who were found to range in age from 9 to 12 years, and who were working in the mines or breakers of the borough. In this same borough at one breaker twenty-two boys were interviewed at noon, all but two of whom acknowledged that they were under fourteen; while of the remaining two, one was found by the school record to be ten instead of fourteen, as he had claimed, while the other boy, fifteen years old, had been out of school and at work for more than six years. These boys were all provided with affidavits from their parents certifying that they were fourteen years old, and the outside foreman had pre-

viously expressed his belief that no boys under fourteen were employed.

Not desiring to rely on this personal canvass, a statement was secured from the borough superintendent of schools, a man who could have no interest in exaggerating the estimate and who was entirely friendly toward the mining companies of the borough and the mine inspector of his district. His estimate of the number of children employed in the coal breakers of the borough under fourteen years of age was as follows: 9 years old, 35; 10 years old, 40; 11 years old, 40; 12 years old, 45, and he thought that 40 more would be found between 12 and 14 years of age. This accounts for 200 of the 300 boys believed by mine superintendents and others familiar with the industry to be working in the breakers of that borough. Since 2,350 mine workers (the number estimated in this borough) is approximately one-sixty-fourth of the 153,000 mine workers estimated as employed in the entire region at that time, sixty-four times the 200 in this borough would make the 12,800 referred to.

But the investigation was not confined to this borough. Underage children with fraudulent certificates were interviewed both at home and at work in many other parts of the coal region. Summaries from two other boroughs may indicate the general trend of the information secured.

The superintendent of schools in a borough of 25,000 population reported that the school enrollment was 3,450; that boys usually left school at 13 or 14, and that "300 at least" under 14 were at work in the breakers. This was in a community in which improved slate-picking machinery has been extensively introduced, and the demand for child labor greatly decreased. In another borough of 12,000 population the school superintendent said 600 boys under 14 working in the breakers would be a conservative estimate. (This borough, it will be observed, if taken as a basis for the entire region, would give a total of 18,000, while if the average for the three boroughs had been made the basis, the total would be 15,200.)

Later Testimony.

Similar estimates have been received from time to time from various localities in the anthracite region and for the purpose of securing data to estimate the effect of the act of 1905, portions of

which were declared unconstitutional, a letter was addressed in November to a number of borough and township school superintendents, and up to the present time the following replies have been received: The school superintendent of one borough, with a population of 6,000, with 900 enrolled in the public school, reports that boys usually leave school at ages ranging from 12 to 14, and that he believes 175 boys between 14 and 16 and 250 under 14 are employed in the mines and breakers of the borough. He also affirms that these boys have no certificates showing them to be 14 years old. Probably he does not regard the parent's affidavit as a certificate. The superintendent of schools in a borough of 18,000 population says that only about 1,840 of the 3,291 children of school age are in school and that the boys customarily drop out of school at 12 years of age to work, but gives no estimate of the number. Another superintendent of schools in a borough of 7,500 people, with 1,520 children between 6 and 16 years of age, of whom about 1,300 are in school, says that he assumes that 200 boys under 16 are employed in the mines and breakers, 50 of whom are under 14 in the breakers. In a borough of 15,000 population, with 4,000 mine workers, the superintendent of schools estimates 200 boys under 16 in the mines and breakers, but says the number under 14 is small. The superintendent of schools in a township of 15,181 population, in which the new child labor law was enforced even after its constitutionality was denied, and in which 400 under-age children were added to the school rolls last year, estimates that not less than 100 boys under 14 are working in the breakers. These, he claims, are working without certificates proving their age. This is in a township in which, after several days' stay, we had found a much smaller number. In another borough of 18,000 population, with 3,050 children in the schools, the superintendent estimates that of the 3,800 people employed in the mines and breakers, 350 are under 16, while 200 are under 14 years of age. In making this estimate, he says "conditions right in the borough are not so bad." He then explains that 9 of the largest breakers are just outside the borough limits, and that the larger number of miners are employed in these; but the 300 includes only those who work in the mines and breakers within the borough limits. Less than six months ago he had estimated 1,000 boys residing in the borough who were work-

ing illegally in the collieries, whether within or outside the borough limits.

These, with the three boroughs above referred to, give 9, with definite replies from 7. Taking the replies from these seven boroughs which give definite estimates, we found an aggregate population of 90,083, a school enrollment of 14,993, a mining population of 25,000, or approximately one-sixth of the mine workers of the anthracite region, in which these school superintendents estimate not less than 2,460 boys are working under age with certificates based only on the unsupported affidavits of the parent.

A Reasonable Basis.

That this portion of the field constitutes a fair percentage as a basis for computation, and that this method is entirely justified, is evident from a comparison with methods pursued by the United States Bureau of Labor in its investigations. In the eighteenth annual report of the Commissioner of Labor, 1903, on "Cost of Living and Retail Prices of Food," a total is estimated on the basis of an investigation of 25,440 families, representing 124,108 persons, or one person in every 644 of the population; while we here have an estimate based upon one-sixth of the entire population concerned, or 100 times the foundation on which the government rests its report. If the same proportion of child labor prevailed in the entire region which is estimated here by these school superintendents, the total would be six times 2,460, or 14,760 boys working under age, with falsified certificates, in the mines and breakers of the region. It is not claimed and has never been claimed by this committee that the number of boys under age in the breakers is six times the 2,460 estimated by the school superintendents of these seven boroughs. The nearest approach to such a claim has been that if the same percentage prevailed throughout the region as found in these boroughs for which estimates were given by the school superintendents, the number in the *mines and breakers* would be not less than 10,000 or 12,000, but estimates of the number have been always accompanied by the contention that "until some accurate method of determining the age of children has been applied, the exact number will never be known." The school superintendents, the class of public officials most familiar with the children, com-

plain of the difficulty in determining the age of the children in default of accurate vital statistics, while the obstacles met by the mine inspectors have been clearly set forth in this report of Mr. Roderick.

Not Unfriendly.

The superintendent of schools in the borough estimating the largest percentage of child labor says the "mine inspector is a warm personal friend of mine, and is very vigilant in the borough. As soon as we get on track of any children in the borough working under age I report and he does the rest." This sentence expresses the attitude of many of these superintendents who have corresponded with us on the extent of child labor in the mines and breakers, and may well serve to indicate the spirit in which our work has been prosecuted. Having taken up the discussion in the *Woman's Home Companion,* September, 1906, of the prevalence of child labor in the anthracite field because of the defective law in Pennsylvania, I reported the results of an investigation made in April and May of the present year, and said:

> Such instances do not reflect on the integrity or the ability of the mine inspectors. Each one is set to do the task of five or ten men, without even the arm of an enforceable law to support him. An inspector may be assigned to visit from fifteen to thirty mines, and frequently a mine will contain from forty to one hundred miles of gangways and headings, all of which should be carefully inspected for gas, loose overhanging slate, defective timbering and faulty ventilation. The thorough inspection of a large mine may require from five days to two weeks. It is requiring of a man nothing less than superhuman knowledge and ability to expect him to read at sight the ages of two or three hundred boys—especially in the face of legal documents which justify their presence.

This attitude is far removed from that suggested in the report of the Department of Mines for 1905, which says:

> The general public by this most unreliable authority was asked to believe that through the neglect of the mine inspectors 10,000 children were allowed to work in and about the breakers in plain violation of the law.

Difficulties of Inspection.

The whole spirit of the work of the National Child Labor Committee has been friendly to the Department of Mine Inspection, and every spoken or written utterance on the subject has laid emphasis

on the difficulties attending the work of this department in view of the intolerable law now on the statute books of Pennsylvania governing child labor in the mines. This is admirably set forth in Mr. Roderick's report in the following words:

> The difficult thing is to get at the correct ages of these boys, as at least seventy-five per cent of them were born in foreign countries. Besides this, the department has neither the time nor the money to spend in prosecuting the parents or guardians of these children. If the next legislature could be induced to appropriate about $50,000 for this purpose, the department could enter proceedings to get at the true facts in the matter.

This is a clear admission, perhaps unintentional, of the inability of the Department of Mine Inspection to secure with the funds and laborers at its command an accurate census of child labor in the anthracite region, and no one would more sincerely approve this wise recommendation for an adequate and accurate investigation than the National Child Labor Committee. We should regard the published results as an inestimable aid in our efforts to arouse public sentiment on the subject. The report cites one case in point of a boy reported by Mr. Nearing, secretary of the Pennsylvania Child Labor Committee, as at work under the legal age in a coal breaker. The department took up the case at once, but the attorney for the boy's father presented an affidavit from the father that the boy was two years older than the parents had represented to the witness of the commonwealth. The report continues: "As the oath of the father would have more weight than the oath of the agent of the society, the department felt that it could do nothing else than drop the case and pay the attorney's fee and expenses."

A Startling Claim.

Yet in the face of this acknowledgment of the extreme difficulty in gathering reliable data, the department makes the remarkable statement that "the boys of doubtful age number a little over 9 per cent of the total number employed." The inspector found 760 boys of whose age they were in doubt, though the chief reports that "it is very probable, however, that many of the 760 classed as doubtful by the inspectors are over 14."

It has been the contention of the National Child Labor Committee from the beginning of its study of this field that the mine

inspectors have been hampered in their work by the fact that nearly all the boys have sworn certificates to their legal age for employment; by the fact that the records at the mines show all boys to be of proper age; by the fact that the visiting inspector is usually known to the boys, who are thus on their guard against any compromising confession; and also by the extent of the field to be covered. The department reports an average of 45 mines for every deputy inspector, which, as every one familiar with the industry try knows, would require superhuman speed and strength of every one of these 15 representatives of the state. In his report for 1903, Mr. Roderick criticises the law requiring every mine to be inspected at least every two months in these words: "This requirement defeats the very purpose of the act and reduces the inspector to a mere walking machine with time only to note the most trivial matters." Discussing the legal age of boy employees, this report says:

> The law is emphatic in its requirement of properly attested certificates for children applying for employment, but unfortunately, under the present system no protection is afforded in cases where the age is falsely represented. The inspectors may frequently have doubts as to the eligibility of the boys who are given employment, but as the certificates have been accepted by the mine foremen, they are without authority to take action in the matter.

After referring to his demand that the companies should require certificates of all boys employed showing them to be 14 or 16, according as they were employed outside or inside, he says (report for 1903):

> While the certificates attested to the ages fourteen or sixteen, it was evident that many of the boys were under that age.

Not only are the mine inspectors dependent upon the records of affidavits in the office of the mining companies and the statements of the boys themselves for information regarding the number under 16 years of age—for these records show none under 14—but every step they take toward preventing the employment of a boy of doubtful age must be taken in the face of a legal document, which is prima facie evidence of the employer's right to hire the child. It is not surprising, therefore, to learn that only 760 children of doubtful age were found by that investigation. The Department of Mine Inspection is to be credited with commendable energy in

discovering even so many. But to grant that this is the total number would be quite another matter.

The Census Bulletin on Mines and Quarries for 1902, which reports 11,857 boys under 16, does not find any boys under 14 working (Table 7, page 14). The same Bulletin (Table 90) which shows an average of 3,822 boys employed under 16 above ground in the anthracite mines, does not find any boys under 16 below ground. Yet the commission appointed by President Roosevelt to arbitrate the coal strike of that year had no difficulty in finding that boys under 16 were employed in the mines and boys under 14 were employed outside in the breakers. These facts were not shown in the census for the obvious reason that the census collectors were dependent for information upon sources which could not furnish the facts discovered by the commission. No employer could have been expected to go through his file of work-certificates, which the state provides, and say "20, or 30, or 50 of these are based on false representation of age"; he would have been doing an injustice to his employees had he done so. This is no criticism of the census, but is intended to point out the wrong done by the state to the child, the parent, the employer, and the accuracy of the census by this defective law. And it would be as reasonable for the Director of the Census to come forward and affirm because his representatives found no boys under 14 in the breakers and no boys under 16 in the mines, that there were none, as for the chief of the Department of Mines to insist that only 760 boys of doubtful age are employed, because only that number were found.

While there is no way of determining the number of boys under any given age in the industry, the following figures from the last three annual reports of the Department of Mines will be instructive. The tables which classify the employees show for the kinds of labor in which boys are employed:

	1903.	1904.	1905.
Drivers and runners	11,252	11,607	12,069
Door-boys and helpers	3,067	3,173	3,284
Slate pickers (boys)	11,430	12,128	12,040
Slate pickers (men)	5,234	5,599	4,734

Excluding from this list the 4,734 slate pickers classed as men, it will be seen that the number of drivers, runners, door-boys, help-

ers and slate pickers (boys) in 1905 was 27,393. In view of the large number of young boys to be found in all these branches of the industry, and the fact that their age certificates are so untrustworthy, the estimates given by the school superintendents of the number of under-age boys employed do not appear exaggerated.

Sacrifice of Life Increases.

Despite the discrepancy in the figures given by the mine inspectors and the school superintendents of the mining boroughs, no doubt all agencies working for the protection of childhood and all federal and state officials will, without prejudice, unite in their effort to ascertain and present to the public an accurate estimate. But with the recommendation in the report for 1905 (Department of Mines, page x) for the "enactment of one law, making the employment age 14 years for boys employed in and about the anthracite and bituminous mines," we are compelled to take issue. The effect of the adoption of such a recommendation can be seen by a study of the menace to life and health in the coal industry. The report of this department for 1905 shows that the number of fatal accidents in that year was larger than in any of the past twenty-five years. This might reasonably have been expected from the increase in the industry, but the same report shows (page xxxvi) that the number of lives lost inside the mines *per thousand employed* was larger in 1905 than in any year since 1883 with the single exception of 1891, and the number lost outside was larger per thousand employed in each of the years 1903, 1904, and 1905, than in any year since 1880; while the entire number lost per thousand employed was larger in 1905 than in any year since 1880. The report also shows (page lviii) that with the single exception of 1895, there has been no year in the past eleven when so many lives were lost in proportion to the coal produced as in 1905. This is, indeed, a bad showing for an industry in which improvements in machinery and methods are constantly being made, and in which, even were there no humane motive, the financial loss of such fatalities would prompt the employers to extreme precaution. With improved machinery, better ventilation, electric lighting and electric haulage, the loss of life should be reduced to a minimum instead of constantly increasing.

Caused by Youth and Ignorance.

The cause of this sacrifice of life is revealed in this report, and is a positive confirmation of the need of such protection as we are urging. There were, according to Mr. Doderick's report, in 1905, 16,774 slate pickers, 8,124 (48.4 per cent) of whom were under 16 years of age. Yet 75 per cent of the slate pickers killed were under 16. In other words, the average boy under 16 years in a coal breaker takes something over three times as much risk as the adult of losing his life.

The report offers two lines of explanation of this sacrifice of children: the first relates to child nature; the second to education. First, the report says (page xi):

> The dangers that menace the boys in and about the anthracite breakers are perhaps more serious than those that menace the boys working inside the mines. If the boys tending doors in the mines would stay at their work they would be practically safe from danger, but when there is a slackness in the work they frequently run away from the doors, and when they hear the cars coming, in their haste to return to their post of duty, they are apt to fall and be run over, or they are so late in opening the doors that the cars come upon them before they get out of the way, and the result is often injury or loss of life to themselves or the drivers. The same observation will apply to boys in the breakers. If they could be compelled to remain at their working places when the breaker is running empty, instead of going about, they would incur very little danger. The fact is, however, that the minute the chutes are cleared the boys run loose, climb on top and over the safety guards, and frequently fall on or into the machinery, and are injured or killed. They also run and jump on moving cars, and in many other ways invite disaster. The management should impose the penalty of discharge upon a boy who leaves his work in the breaker or in the mine.

In other words, the breaker boy is surrounded with so many dangers that for his own protection he must be denied even a moment of respite in his eight- or nine-hour day bent over the coal chutes. The report recognizes that play is natural to a child of this age, but proposes its suppression by the immediate discharge of any boy who leaves his task for a moment.

Second, the report shows that the larger number of accidents are suffered by non-English-speaking people. During 1905, 130 English-speaking miners and laborers were killed inside the mines, while 326 non-English-speaking miners and laborers were killed.

"The department is unable to say," says Mr. Roderick (page xxxv), "what proportion of the employees in the mines are English-speaking persons, but it is evident that the fatalities among the employees designated as non-English speaking are largely in excess of their proportionate number. This is not surprising, however, and will continue to be the case until these people acquire sufficient knowledge of the English language to understand orders given by foremen, and thus be able to protect themselves in the performance of their duties."

With the record of this preponderance of accident and death falling to children and to non-English-speaking employees, it is difficult to harmonize Mr. Roderick's argument for a reduction of the age limit for employment in coal mines to 14 years. He says (page xi):

> Under the present anthracite law great injustice in many instances is done to heads of large families, and more particularly to poor widows, by reason of their boys being prohibited from entering the mines until they are sixteen years of age. They are by this extreme enactment deprived of a natural and much-needed support. I am not, however, in accord with the bituminous law that makes the employment age twelve years. Both laws are radically wrong in this respect and should be amended on reasonable lines. In the anthracite region, as before stated, they bear unjustly upon the widows and heads of large families, and in the bituminous region they work injury to the boys by permitting them to go to work at too early an age. The bituminous workers contend, however, that the employment age should not be raised, for the reason that there is no employment for the boys in that region except inside of the mines. In my opinion there is no reason whatever for making any distinction between the ages of boys outside and inside the mines.

With the appeal for a uniform age standard in both fields we are in full accord, but from the recommendation that the employment age should be fixed at 14 years, it would seem that every person and agency interested in child protection must dissent. Not only has the report demonstrated that boys are more liable to injury than men because they are boys and lacking in prudence and the appreciation of danger, but also that the mine workers who have no knowledge of English fall easy victims to dangers of which they are ignorant. But how are these ignorant mine laborers "to acquire sufficient knowledge of the English language to understand orders given by foremen and thus to be able to protect themselves

in the performance of their duties," if they are to be permitted to enter the mines and breakers at 14 years of age, hundreds of them having never spent a year, or even a month, in a public school?

The Hazard Admitted.

That mining is a dangerous occupation is not denied. In the appellate court decision relative to the employment of children in coal mines in Illinois in 1904 (in the case of Struthers, plaintiff in error, *v.* The People), the court declared of the mine law in that state (page 4):

> That employment in a coal mine is classed by the legislature among occupations dangerous to life, limbs and health. The title and every section of the act clearly shows it. Minute provision is made for the safety of employees from the moment they reach the shaft and enter the cage to descend to their work until they again reach the surface. It is recognized that danger lurks around them, descending and ascending, in roadways, rooms and entries; wherever they may be or go while in the mine; danger from breaking ropes, falling rocks, damp, dust, explosions, poisonous air and other things and conditions.

To this court declaration should now be added the following utterance from Mr. Roderick. In the report for 1905 he says:

> The dangers that menace the boys in and about the anthracite breakers are perhaps more serious than those that menace boys working inside the mines.

From these two authoritative sources we have the strongest possible argument for the enactment of a law in Pennsylvania which would make 16 years the minimum age limit for employment in or about any mine, on the ground that "coal mining is an occupation dangerous to the life and limb of those employed therein." (Illinois court.)

If it were true, as the chief mine inspector affirms, that, "if a uniform law, with 14 years as a minimum, were passed, Pennsylvania would lead all other states and countries in practical and sensible protective legislation on this important question," then we would be constrained to say that other states and countries where coal mines are operated would sadly need reform. Fortunately the assertion is erroneous, for Illinois, Montana and Missouri forbid the employment of children under 16 in mines, while Arizona, Colorado,

Montana, Missouri and Utah limit the employment of children in mines to 8 hours in the 24. Austria forbids the employment in mines under 15 years, while both France and Germany, although not having a higher age limit for employment, require that all children employed shall have completed the common school course of education.

Every advance in the line of protective legislation carries with it the need for an increased corps of officers to enforce the will of the commonwealth. We have every reason to believe that the Department of Mines has done faithful and efficient work in Pennsylvania, but the magnitude of the field and the defectiveness of the law conspire to defeat all efforts. Let the law be so amended as to fix a reasonable age limit, accompanied by educational qualifications, and the requirement of proof of age. Then place at the disposal of the department funds sufficient to carry on its work, and we may hope to see a marked decrease in the sacrifice of children to the production of coal.

OBSTACLES TO THE ENFORCEMENT OF CHILD LABOR LEGISLATION

By Mrs. Florence Kelley,

Secretary National Consumers' League.

Sixty years ago in England the great obstacle to the enforcement of child labor legislation, and even to the enactment of such legislation, was the attitude of the cotton manufacturers of that kingdom, who went in delegations to Parliament, and said, "Yes, there is child labor, and it is a good thing that the children should learn to work. We are carrying on schools to teach them to work. Moreover, it is good for the kingdom that there should be child labor, for on that rests the commercial supremacy of the nation." And the only answer possible at that time was a purely theoretical statement that nothing can be so important as the life, the health and welfare of the children of the nation.

We have not that obstacle in this country. No great delegations of manufacturers go to Congress, or to any legislature, and say, "Yes, there is child labor, and it is a good thing for the children, and for the republic." They do not go to Congress at all on this subject, or to any legislature—not at all. Though their trade organs the great manufacturers say: "there is no child labor in this country. If there were it would be a bad thing. We do not employ young children. This is all exaggeration." But they do employ children, and the children are working to-night. I know that children six, seven and eight years old work this week in New York City tenements for reputable manufacturers. I have seen children in a cotton mill in Georgia whose employer told me they were ten years old, who were wretched dwarfs if they were really eight years old. That one man frankly showed children at work in his mill.

On the whole, however, the entire attitude of the manufacturing

class has been revolutionized in sixty years. No one now says that it is a good thing for little children to work. The haggling now is as to whether a child shall legally begin at twelve, or at fourteen, or at sixteen years to work.

It is ultimately the attitude of mind of the nation that decides whether child labor laws shall be enforced after they are enacted. And the attitude of mind has changed (as it exhibits itself in speech and in print) from the bold claim that the commercial supremacy of England was more important than the welfare of the English race, to the hypocritical attitude of this country, that we have not the evil and, therefore, need do nothing about it. I do not know which obstacle to the enforcement of law is more effective. The obstacle is there, and our legislation, taking the country over, is not effectively enforced.

There are three objective tests of the enforcement of our laws. One is the presence of children in school. This is now being shown in an interesting exhibit of industrial conditions in Philadelphia. There is a chart showing the attendance of the children of Chicago at school in the year 1902. A small block symbolizes the attendance in that year. For the following year the same block repeated symbolizes the attendance; but the next year, 1904, when the present drastic child labor law of Illinois had taken effect, the enrollment in the Chicago schools of the children of compulsory school age trebled. It required three times the original block to indicate the school attendance in the year after that new law took effect and was enforced. That statute carried a thousand children out of the stockyards in a single week; and later it carried 2,200 children out of the mines of Illinois in another week, following the decision of the enlightened judge of the Peoria district. And the increased school enrolment showed whither the children went.

The second objective test of the enforcement of child labor laws is prosecution. The child labor law is enforced in Illinois by persistent prosecution. Hundreds of employers have paid thousands of dollars in fines, and the visible result of the success of those prosecutions is the presence of the children of compulsory school age in school. That is an infallible test of the effectiveness of the enforcement of the law which prohibits children working throughout the period of compulsory school attendance.

South of Baltimore—south of Louisville—there are no prosecutions; there is no compulsory school attendance. In any southern state to-day school attendance does not serve as a test of the efficiency of the protection of the children, because there are not schools enough to enroll the children if they were all dismissed from the mills. The test of the presence of the children in the schools enough to enroll the children if they were all dismissed children. We enroll our children in New York City. I wish I might say that we kept them in school. We enroll them, at least, and the enrollment has increased under the recent efficient enforcement of the law in the factories by Commissioner Sherman. Even where there are not schools enough to admit the children, we can at least enroll them so that we may know where they are, and the opportunity to enroll them depends largely upon the efficiency of the prosecutions carried out by the factory inspectors.

The enforcement of the law depends not only on the quality of the men to whom the work of enforcing it is entrusted; it depends far more largely on the quality of the community in which those men hold office. There are few blacker chapters in the history of this republic than the ever-recurring story of removal of efficient officers because they have attempted to enforce child labor laws in communities which were willing to have those laws on the statute books so long as they were not enforced, but either repealed the statutes or removed the officers as soon as there was any effective prosecution.

There is a brilliant example of this in the history of the City of New York. The mercantile employees' law, when first drafted, provided that the same officer who enforced the law in factories should enforce it in the stores. But the Retail Dealers' Association of New York City objected, and prevented the enactment of the statute until a compromise was achieved. That was in the days when we had a very efficient inspector in office, the only efficient one we ever had before Mr. Sherman. A compromise was achieved, and the enforcement of the law in stores was left to local boards of health. The Retail Dealers' Association highly approved the appointment of a leading philanthropic merchant of New York to the position of commissioner of health. This gentleman said quite frankly when he took office that he did not mean to hold it long,

that he had only two aims which he wished to achieve. One aim was to get free sterilized and pasteurized milk for the children of the tenements; the other aim was to cut out of the municipal budget the appropriation for local inspectors to enforce the child labor laws in stores. He achieved both these ends; he cut out the municipal appropriation for the enforcement of the law in stores, and he established pasteurized milk for children in tenements. Then he resigned. His successor cut out the pasteurized milk; and then we had neither mercantile inspection nor pasteurized milk. And to this day the child labor law has never been enforced in stores. Notice is served upon the incoming commissioner of health by the secretary of the Retail Dealers' Association that they do not consider it desirable that the law should be enforced in stores with the same rigor with which it is enforced in factories.

Two years ago I saw one hundred and fifty children working illegally at twenty minutes past ten o'clock at night in a perfectly reputable dry goods store in the City of New York on the Saturday night before Christmas. If one of those children had stolen any small article, a doll or a penknife, the heavy hand of the law would have carried that child promptly into the juvenile court. But one hundred and fifty children were robbed of sleep in violation of the law; and the merchant, their employer who robbed them, has never been prosecuted to this day, and will never be prosecuted. The community does not insist that the great in New York City shall obey the law for the protection of the children; and no commissioner of health has had the moral courage to do that which his community does not wish done.

While the community in New York does sustain the Commissioner of Labor in his prosecutions of manufacturers who employ children illegally, no commissioner of health has instituted proceedings under a similar law against any merchant in the city except in the case of one or two obscure men down in the lower East Side.

It is difficult to induce men of high ability to give up their chosen occupations to take a position which involves them in an oath that they will enforce a law when there is always a sword hanging over their heads if they do enforce that law. If there is a great clamor in the community by a few people that the law shall be enforced, the temptation is terribly strong to enforce it

against obscure offenders violating it in a small way, so as to make a record of something done without incurring powerful opposition for the official or for the law.

The third test of the enforcement of the child labor laws is the published records of the officials appointed to enforce them. The friends of the children are growing in numbers, but they often lack technical acquaintance with the subject. It may be said of many of us that our intentions are good, but we have never been working children, we have never been employers, we have, perhaps, never been teachers of working children, and we do not speak with authority. Then we turn necessarily to official information on the subject; and it is a sad commentary on the interest of this nation in its working children that most of the carefully-stated information now available is non-official. It is furnished by voluntary bodies, and can be attacked as non-official and as amateur. And why?

Why is it that, year after year, one searches the reports of the state bureaus of statistics (of which twenty or thirty volumes are issued), to find perhaps a dozen pages of lucid statement of the child labor conditions in some one state? Commissioner Sherman's reports are models of what we pray that some time we may have in all the states in which there is child labor.

From time to time we receive at the office of the Consumers' League a request to send a full file of official reports to Europe, and we make excuses for not doing so, for most of them we should be ashamed to send. They darken wisdom. They do not afford data for valid comparisons.

In the same industrial exhibition in Philadelphia, of which I spoke, the most conspicuous objects are two huge signs which tell the story taken from the official records of Pennsylvania concerning enforcement of the child labor laws in manufacture and mercantile pursuits in that state. The latest available report is dated 1904, and this is the end of 1906.

One of those signs says, in large letters:

Pennsylvania—Children Employed, 40,140.
Children Illegally Employed, 3,243.
Prosecutions, 22.

The other sign says:

Pennsylvania—Children Employed, 40,140.
Children Illegally Employed, 3,243.
Fines Imposed, $750.
Average Cost of Violation of the Child Labor Law in Pennsylvania, 23 Cents.

Now, that is the sort of information for want of which we are not, on the whole, very intelligent about our working children in this country. The National Consumers' League, a volunteer philanthropic body, publishes every year a Handbook of Child Labor Legislation. Why is this book left to be published by a volunteer body? Why does not the United States Department of Commerce and Labor publish it? And why has the predecessor of that department not done so for the past twenty years? Why has the handbook been left to grow from a little leaflet of four pages, five years ago, to a little pamphlet of sixty-four pages now, published as a supplement to THE ANNALS of the American Academy this year? Why are the American people content to have thousands of undecipherable official pages of unmeaning figures published year after year? Why have we endured being left with no official means of ready comparison of the statutes of the different states, and the prosecutions of violations of the child labor law in the different states? Whether in Ohio it costs twenty-three cents for every violation of the child labor law, or twenty-three dollars, or $230, or $2,300, we do not know. We do not know this for any state unless we sit down and carefully and laboriously make computations for ourselves, which may then perhaps be in error.

These, I believe, are the gravest obstacles at the present time to the enforcement of the child labor law: First, the general hypocrisy of the American people, believing that child labor is an evil, and that, therefore, we do not tolerate it—when there are working children on the streets before our eyes, every working day in the year, in every manufacturing city. Second, the failure to make the work of enforcing the law a desirable and recognized profession into which the ablest men will willingly go. Leonard Horner, the first of the English factory inspectors, held office thirty-four years. He laid the foundation for factory inspection throughout

the world. His name goes down in history coupled with the name of Lord Shaftesbury—and honorably coupled with it. And from his day to the present the position of local factory inspector and shop inspector is an honorable one for which thoroughly efficient men eagerly compete in the English civil service. In America, we leave an inspector at the mercy of the most influential man whom it may be his duty to prosecute, and at the mercy of every turn of the political wheel; and then we wonder that we have not a race of noble martyrs who protect working children at cost of their own professional careers. And we fall to thinking that there is something hopeless in the effort to put better laws upon the statute book if then they are to sleep upon its pages.

The trouble is with ourselves. We get exactly the sort of care for the children through the officials that the community determines they shall have; and we register our indifference in accepting such printed records as we have now, obscuring the actual conditions of the working children in nearly all the states.

Where the employment of children is arrested, as is the case effectually in Illinois, partially in New York, partially in Massachusetts, the records are so clear that any school child can understand them. The ability which makes it possible to arrest the growth of child labor makes it possible also to print records which we can all read and understand and use.

The next step which we need to take is to insist that this is a national evil, and we must have a national law abolishing it. We must also insist that this is a matter of great import to the people of this country, that the government must give us information not only through a bureau for the children in the federal government but through all the existing departments, the Census Bureau, the Department of Commerce and Labor, the Department of Education. We must demand trustworthy records in our state publications, so that we shall not blush when a request comes to send a complete collection of our records for the use, for instance, of the Austrian government.

NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR CHILDREN

By Jane Addams,

Hull House, Chicago, Ill.

It is sometimes a difficult matter to understand that the federal government should be willing to spend time and money to establish and maintain departments relating to the breeding, to the raising, to the distribution and to the exportation of cattle, sheep and hogs, and that as yet the federal government has done nothing to see to it that the children are properly protected up to the time when they may go to work without injury to themselves and without injury to the nation. This can only be explained by the attitude of the founders of our government, who, in their great desire to keep away from oppression and to avoid reproducing the tyranny which had driven them from Europe, came to believe that self-governernment could be secured only through decentralized or local government. If one would go over the early history of government in the United States and the machinery devised to secure greater freedom, one would find that the founders constantly distrusted centralized power as a result of the inheritance which they had brought with them and from which they could not escape. Only in one direction did they assume that a centralized government was necessary and that was in all of those things which pertain to international relations. As modern life developed, those things which pertained most naturally to international relations were the exports and imports with their tariff regulations, and so quite seriously the national government took up all of the things connected with commerce and with its development in every direction.

It seemed at last quite natural that hours and hours of discussion in the Congress of the United States should be expended upon commercial questions because they had to do with the relations of the United States to the world outside. It seemed quite right that millions of dollars should be spent that the best sort of grain might

be raised and carried to the sea ports; that elaborate experiment stations should be established upon the seashore that fish might be produced and protected. And during this development at any moment—I might say "at the drop of a hat"—the national government was ready to go to war in order to protect the seal or the fisheries interests. In the same spirit animal industries were protected and developed because cattle of the west were a valuable national asset, soldiers were stationed throughout the territories that the ranchmen might be secure in their efforts to enlarge this great industry, which was national in character, and which determined in a very large measure our commercial value to European nations. It was logical perhaps that the power of the federal government should develop so exclusively along commercial lines, and if one may generalize from this very superficial survey, that any tendency on the part of centralized government, to develop in other directions should be resented by a liberty-loving people. This development along one exclusive line has, however, brought some embarrassing results. For instance, quite lately, in Chicago, when we became greatly agitated in regard to the question of protecting the cattle after they had been killed and put into cans, the only way we could secure any protection was by following this same commercial line. The meat bill, I suppose, pushed very hard the interstate commerce clauses of the Federal Constitution. It went as far, I imagine, as it possibly could and still keep up the fiction of having to do with railroads and with the transportation of goods from one state to another, starting and ending logically, of course, with foreign exports. For it was in the development of international relations, when Germany and England insisted upon inspection, that the entire system of meat inspection was developed. The United States sagely enacted very stringent regulations in order to meet the requirements of other nations, for so long as these regulations fostered international trade, no one objected to them. But when Congress attempted to pass measures requiring the inspection of meat as a product which was designed for domestic consumption, the legislators found it difficult both to pass and to enforce the regulations which they did not dream of attempting from any other point of view than that of interstate commerce. A few rash people thought that the matter of meat inspection might have been approached

from a praiseworthy desire on the part of the federal government to preserve American citizens from death by poisoning, although we in Chicago were not afraid of being poisoned, for we have eaten the very worst stuff for years—stuff which was too bad to be taken out of the city at all—until we considered ourselves quite immune. Chicago citizens were glad to have this meat bill passed, however, because only through such a stretch of power of the federal government in its commercial relations could protection be afforded to the children, the women and the men who were working in the stock yards. It was possible to reach the producer only through the product, and it was possible to regulate the product only because it entered into interstate commerce. The federal government said, "O yes, we will go along the old path of regulating commerce and if, incidentally, we can protect the women and children, we will do it. If you ask us to protect them directly, we will certainly say no, for that interferes with state rights, and we cannot possibly undertake such a thing."

There is doubtless a ray of hope in this legislation, although some of us wished that this protection might have been secured for women and children less indirectly. I will confess to certain scruples, that the nation should have been driven to secure sanitation in this round-a-bout way, although in certain instances it meant only hot water in which a man may wash his hands when they are covered with the blood of kine. Some of us wish that the government might secure so praiseworthy an object in a more direct way than through the Interstate Commerce Acts, but we will take it as it comes, and we are glad to have it come through such a measure, if we can secure it in no other way.

And now comes Senator Beveridge and pushes this interstate commerce arrangement one step further. The meat bill controls the conditions surrounding the producer because it is only through control of these conditions that we can secure a product clean and wholesome enough for interstate commerce, and Senator Beveridge says that it is only by protecting the child, by not permitting him to work until he is fourteen, that we can produce a product that is moral enough, that is decent enough, that is righteous enough, to enter into interstate commerce. If we have government in which human welfare is not to be considered as an object of direct govern-

mental action, and if we possess a well-rooted objection to humane legislation, I think we may congratulate ourselves that there have arisen in our midst men who are clever enough to "tackle" the question of human welfare through the Interstate Commerce Acts. Perhaps when we look at the provisions of this bill, we may be able to see that this, after all, is the most American way to get at the matter.

What are we most interested in, in this country? Along which line do our blood and sinew and our imaginations and our hopes and our desires develop? I think that we would all agree that it is along the line of industry and commerce, and that it is exactly here that American children have suffered in so far as they have been put to premature toil, because our commercial and industrial life has been so ruthless and so self-centered that it has never given them a thought. To have this labor of children protected and regulated through legislation which, in its inception, was designed solely in the interests of commercial advancement, is perhaps a case of poetic justice—an instance of the return of the deed upon the head of the doer—of the punishment fitted to the crime, as it were. Some of us who are members of this convention had dreamed that the regulation of the labor of children might come through educational agencies, that it might be fostered through a federal bureau of education or a bureau dedicated to all the children of the nation, as other bureaus are dedicated to the interests of cattle and grain, but apparently it is destined to come another way, and we will protect the children through the products in which their labor is embodied, as we have protected the stock yards worker through the goods which he has put into cans. However, we may in time be justly proud, if we can say that no American product enters into foreign or domestic commerce which does not represent the free labor quality of an educated producer who is exercising his adult powers. At any rate, we will be thankful that at last there is a prospect of national regulation of a national evil.

THE CHILD LABOR LAWS OF THE OHIO VALLEY

By Hon. J. H. Morgan,

Chief Inspector of Workshops and Factories in the State of Ohio.

Six great states lie along the banks of the Ohio River, Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia, Kentucky, Indiana and Illinois, and we behold, for its full length, from Pittsburg to Cairo, and stretching in either direction, a continuous line of shops and factories. The wheels are buzzing and the stacks are belching forth great volumes of smoke day and night, for many plants do not stop even for the Sabbath day. And, in passing, I would say I believe this to be a great menace to our American institutions. Men who have regard for God and the Sabbath are not so likely to go wrong in their dealings with their fellowmen. Strange it is that in this great country, and in this century, we have men who, in their individual characters, seem to be above reproach, but as captains of industry resort to chicanery and false principles in their conduct of business. If the Golden Rule instead of the rule of gold were their guide in industrial life, we would have no need for child labor laws.

As might be expected, the industries pursued in these neighboring states are very similar, but the laws governing the employment of minors in them are dissimilar in many respects. This variance in the laws makes it more difficult to enforce the provisions along the border lines than in the interior of the states; the burden, of course, falling upon those having the more stringent laws. We find, too, that public sentiment in such districts is generally with the state having less stringent laws.

I would say that such comparisons as I may make of the laws of the different states are not made in a spirit of unfriendly criticism, but with a view of bringing out the facts pointedly to show the great need of a uniform law that is at once practical and enforceable, for we must consider what is enforceable as well as what is practical. Public sentiment must support the law in order

that it may be successfully enforced; otherwise the department under whose jurisdiction it is placed will either become derelict in its duty by not enforcing its provisions, or, through rigid enforcement, in spite of adverse sentiment, cause the repeal or radical amendment of the law. It is better, then, to progress slowly and surely than to run the risk of losing much by forcing a law on the people that is too far in advance of public sentiment. This, however, need not prevent our having our ideal law on a much higher plane, nor keep us from doing our best to create public sentiment to that standpoint. Simply because we have a good law, it is no reason we should stop there.

Indiana, Illinois, Pennsylvania and Ohio occupy common ground in providing that children under the age of fourteen years shall not be employed in workshops, factories, mercantile or other establishments at any time. In West Virginia the age is fourteen during the school term, which, in at least half the counties, is not more than five months in the year. During the remainder of the year minors may be employed at the age of twelve years. In Kentucky the age for factory, shop, mill and mine is fourteen years; this age also applies to mercantile establishments, telegraph, telephone and messenger service, laundries and printing establishments, except during vacation of the public schools, when there is no age limit for this class of work. This, therefore, is the common ground on which all of the so-called Ohio Valley states meet, for while it is true that two of the states have made certain exceptions to the fourteen-year limit, it is good to know that we agree on the principle, and that we may look forward, and at no distant day, to see these two, as well as every other state in the Union, say to the workshops and factories, "You cannot rob the schoolhouse nor the playground of any child under the age of fourteen years at any time."

Having seen, with two exceptions, that we agreed to fourteen years being young enough for a child to leave school to become little old men and women by becoming breadwinners, let us look at some of the special provisions which have been passed governing night work and other conditions. West Virginia has no restrictions on night work, which means that children twelve years of age may be employed to work at night during the six or seven months that

the public schools are not in session. Kentucky prohibits boys and girls under sixteen years of age from working later than seven o'clock in the evening or earlier than six in the morning. Pennsylvania prohibits children under sixteen years of age from being employed later than nine in the evening or earlier than six in the morning, with the exception, however, that boys over fourteen may, in certain industries, work at night, but the work hours in such cases are not to exceed nine in number. The laws of Illinois prohibit boys and girls under sixteen from working between the hours of seven in the evening and seven in the morning. The State of Indiana prohibits the employment of her women and girls from ten at night until six in the morning; her boys, however, may be employed at night at the age of fourteen, the same as during the day. In Ohio boys under sixteen and girls under eighteen are prohibited from working later than seven in the evening and earlier than six in the morning.

West Virginia has no limit as to the number of hours a minor may work in a day or week. Kentucky restricts minors under the age of sixteen years from working more than ten hours a day or more than sixty hours in a week. Pennsylvania prohibits females and boys under sixteen years from working more than twelve hours in any one day or more than sixty hours in one week. Indiana prohibits girls under twenty-one and boys under eighteen from working more than ten hours a day or more than sixty hours a week. The Illinois law provides that no minor under the age of sixteen years shall be employed more than eight hours in any one day nor more than forty-eight hours in one week. In Ohio minors under the age of eighteen years are prohibited from working more than ten hours in one day or more than fifty-five hours in one week. The purpose for which the fifty-five hour clause in the Ohio law was enacted has not, in the main, been fully realized. It was to provide for the Saturday half-holiday. I am inclined to believe better results would be secured if we could have each day's work stand for itself. When the inspector visits a factory in the middle of the week, he ought not to be required to determine what the effect of the work hours of that day will be in the sum total several days hence, and besides, it is out of the question for him to be at very many places on Saturday at noon to see whether the law is violated or not. One factory will work nine hours each day of the

week, and another ten hours for five days, and five on one day, and both factories will comply with the law in so doing. To be effective each day should stand for itself and define clearly the number of hours a day required, which, in my opinion, should not be more than eight for boys, girls and women. No good reason can be given for taking a mortgage on our future citizenship by employing minors and their mothers for long hours in workshops and factories.

West Virginia has no restrictions applying to employment of minors at dangerous machinery. Kentucky provides that no child under sixteen years of age shall operate an elevator, or sew or assist in sewing belts. In Indiana boys under sixteen and girls under eighteen are prohibited from operating dangerous machinery, and no person under eighteen is allowed to operate an elevator. In Illinois, Pennsylvania and Ohio the laws prevent minors under the age of sixteen years from operating dangerous machinery, including elevators. While the Ohio law prevents the employment of minors under sixteen at dangerous machinery or where their health is likely to be injured or their morals depraved, it does not specify what machinery is dangerous, nor in what kinds of establishments their health is likely to be injured or their morals depraved. I would, therefore, recommend the passage of the Illinois law, which specifies these occupations, but would add to that list the handling and manufacture of tobacco and all places where intoxicating liquors are manufactured and sold.

Minors under the age of sixteen years may not be employed in Pennsylvania and Ohio unless they furnish an age and schooling certificate, properly issued, showing that they can read and write simple sentences in the English language. The same law applies in Indiana, unless the child is blind, and except for employment in vacation. In Illinois illiterates under the age of sixteen may not be employed unless they attend day or night school during employment. The English language, however, is not specified. West Virginia and Kentucky have no educational requirement.

You will note there is not so much uniformity in the laws of these states governing night work and the number of work hours in a day and week, and therefore there is greater difficulty in enforcing these provisions along the border lines of the states. The laws governing employment at dangerous machinery are very similar, and, with the exception of West Virginia, which has no

provision whatever, this group of states has practically agreed that sixteen years is the lowest age at which the responsibility of operating dangerous machinery can be placed with any degree of safety. There is also more uniformity regarding the educational requirements.

In all these states the compulsory education laws dovetail into the child labor laws, and require that the child shall attend school the entire school year, which, in some states, is entirely too short. There is one section of our Ohio school law which is especially worthy of consideration in connection with a discussion of this subject. It reads as follows:

> Sections 4022-9. (Relief to enable child to attend school required time.) When any truant officer is satisfied that any child, compelled to attend school by the provisions of this act, is unable to attend school because absolutely required to work, at home or elsewhere, in order to support itself or help support or care for others legally entitled to its services, who are unable to support or care for themselves, the truant officer shall report the case to the authorities charged with the relief of the poor, and it shall be the duty of said officers to afford such relief as will enable the child to attend school the time each year required under this act. Such child shall not be considered or declared a pauper by reason of the acceptance of the relief herein provided for. In case the child, or its parent or guardian, refuse or neglect to take advantage of the provisions thus made for its instruction, such child may be committed to a children's home or juvenile reformatory, as provided for in sections 4022-9 of the revised statutes of Ohio. In all cases where relief is necessary it shall be the duty of the board of education to furnish textbooks free of charge, and said board may furnish any further relief it may deem necessary, the expense incident to furnishing said books and the relief to be paid from the contingent funds of the school district.

The operation of this law would practically mean public school pension, provided by taxation, for those who are entitled to it, in order that we may have an educated, though poor, people.

You will observe there is a wide range in the requirements of the laws of these six states, from the one allowing children of twelve years to be employed more than half the year, without any restrictions whatever relative to the number of work hours, dangerous machinery, night work or educational requirements, to the law which, when rigidly enforced, practically raises the age to sixteen and eighteen years, with restrictions even then as to the number of work hours.

It is no wonder, then, with this great divergence in the laws governing the employment of minors, that we hear manufacturers threaten to move their factories to states where they are shown more consideration. And what does this mean, except that manufacturers who can make use of child labor are not averse to the bargain-hunting fever, and are willing to move their entire plants across the borders into states whose less stringent laws heap the bargain counters with thousands of children whose labor is a great money-saving and dividend-producing factor? Whatever other inducements localities or states have to offer industrial enterprises, the sacrifice of childhood should not be added. I do not say this from a sentimental standpoint alone, but rather from the selfish point of view that our states and the Union must be preserved and their future assured by protecting the children who are too young to realize how much depends upon them. This alone should be incentive enough to all patriotic people to not only insure their hearty support of such child labor legislation as we have, but to demand better from time to time. I do not mean that children should be encouraged in idleness, but that they should not be deprived of their playtime, nor the opportunity of growing into well-developed and healthy young men and women, capable of assuming and discharging the duties that will devolve upon them.

There are those who advocate and believe that sixteen years should be the minimum age when a child should be allowed to begin to work, and there are many good reasons that can be advanced favoring such legislation. But we must keep in mind the general welfare of all, remembering that state laws apply to the small cities and towns and to the rural districts, as well as to the large cities. I am not sure but what, if our state constitutions would permit, it would be a very good plan to have a general law applicable to the entire state, and then vest the cities with authority to pass such ordinances in advance of the state laws as public sentiment would support. As I have said before, it is well to have an ideal law as a goal, but we must be careful about forcing too radical a law on the people, especially as it could not, in all probability, be passed in adjacent territory.

Industrially, as well as geographically, we of the Ohio Valley are one people, and our laws should be uniform, not only that they

may be the easier enforced, but in justice to the manufacturers who pursue the same industries in the several states, and therefore come into close competition one with another. I should not, however, be willing to see any state lower its present standard to secure this uniformity of law, and do not believe it will be necessary. To be effective, the child labor law should be simple, practical and enforceable, and I present the following as a good working foundation upon which to build:

1. No child under fourteen years of age shall be employed, regardless as to time, occupation or conditions.

2. Boys under sixteen and girls under eighteen years of age shall not be employed after 7 p. m. nor before 6 a. m., nor at any occupation that is dangerous to life, injurious to health or likely to deprave morals. (The list of occupations should be stated clearly in the statute, and made to include all places where intoxicating beverages are manufactured or sold, as well as all the tobacco industries.)

3. Minors under eighteen years of age shall not be employed for a longer period than eight hours in any one day, nor more than forty-eight hours in one week.

4. Minors between the ages of fourteen and eighteen years shall present age and schooling certificates issued under the direction of the superintendents of public schools, same to be kept on file in the office of the establishment where employed.

5. A child desiring a certificate must appear before the superintendent of schools, accompanied by one of his parents, or a guardian, who shall have an employment slip certifying that the child has work to go to, and who shall also be required to certify that the child's wages are necessary for his support. The superintendent shall be authorized to inquire into the facts, and if in doubt as to the worthiness of the claimant, shall refuse the certificate, and require the attendance of the child at school. If the certificate is granted, the child shall be required to sign it in his own handwriting in order that it may be used for the purpose of verification.

6. Employers of minors between fourteen and eighteen years of age shall keep a register containing the name, age, birthplace and residence of every such minor, same to be open to the inspection of authorized officers.

7. The inspector shall have authority to take any child into custody, or require it to leave the establishment, in the event of his refusal to give name and age when there is reasonable ground for doubt as to the child's being of legal age.

8. A physical standard should be required as well as a mental.

I would also suggest that the compulsory education laws be enforced by state officers instead of local, and that these state officers be required to enforce all the provisions of the child labor and compulsory school laws, and to thoroughly investigate any cases which would come within the provisions of the public school pension fund, mention of which has previously been made. These pensions should be paid only on the order of the chief inspector and the secretary of the state board of charities, and, when countersigned by the commissioner of common schools, the fund would thus be protected from those unworthy.

It is my opinion, too, that the age and schooling certificates should be issued from one central source, and not, as in some states, by any person who chances along, including the chief factory inspector and his entire force, the school superintendents, teachers and notaries public. Notwithstanding the fact that we have had some rather peculiar experiences in this matter, I am still inclined to believe that the superintendent of public schools is the one best qualified to have supervision over the issuing of certificates. The only place where I think discretionary power should be vested in any of this work is with the superintendent, when, if in his judgment, the best interests of the child will be subserved, and the home conditions will warrant it, he should have the authority to refuse a certificate, even though the child is past fourteen years of age. This is my reason for requiring one or the other of the parents, or a guardian, to accompany the child, so that the superintendent may get the facts. The only danger is that this power might be abused where a superintendent were financially interested in a factory or workshop, or where a board of education would be, and exert an influence over the superintendent.

In this connection it might not be out of place to refer to some cases we have found. We have taken up certificates on the face of which it was shown that the ages were furnished by friends or neighbors. In one case a mere statement was made that the five

boys, whose names were not given, were qualified to work. This, too, in face of the fact that every superintendent of schools and board of education has been supplied with a copy of the certificate formulated by the commissioner of common schools in accordance with the law. This condition is not general, however, and I am glad to say that our superintendents of public schools are taking more interest in this matter than in former years, and giving us their support in the work.

I sincerely believe the Ohio law should be amended so that parents or guardians could be prosecuted for falsifying as to the age of minors, for until parents and guardians are made to understand that they are just as liable to prosecution as the employers, we will have more or less trouble with this particular feature of the law. A great help in this direction would be the passage of a law requiring the reporting of vital statistics, which, when available, would insure the employer against those people who will even perjure themselves to secure work. It would, of course, be years before any benefit could be derived from such records, but if we fail to make a beginning, we never shall have any corroborative evidence. One of the chief elements of success in any law is the enforcement thereof. It has long ago been learned that a social evil is not remedied merely by making it illegal. Each of these six states has departments organized whose duty it is to enforce these laws, but very few of them have anything like an adequate force of inspectors to perform the work in the creditable manner which should be required. I know this is true of Ohio, and while we have had some severe and unfair criticism, my only surprise is that we have fared as well as we have, considering how few people have any conception of the magnitude of the work performed by the Ohio department. One of the great needs in Ohio, and I doubt not in other states as well, is a large increase in the number of inspectors, a fair percentage of whom should be good, competent women. The true woman, in the factory as elsewhere, is modest, and it can be readily appreciated that if abuses are practiced that not half the story will be told to a man. A woman's wrongs will be more plainly told and effectually to one of her own sex.

The character of the work of these departments is such that men and women should neither be appointed nor retained in the

service who are not in hearty accord with the work, and fully competent to fulfil the duties imposed upon them. The tenure of office should be assured against political or powerful influences, and officials should be upheld for performing their duty in enforcing the law.

It is not enough to enact laws. The work is then but half done. We must have officers whose special duty it is to see that the laws are enforced, and they must be backed up by an enlightened and enthusiastic public sentiment in order to secure the best results. This work of creating public sentiment favorable to the passage and enforcement of good laws can only be accomplished through the combined efforts of such organizations as the National Child Labor Committee, the Consumers' League, the trades unions, and the whole backed up by the Christian influence of the church.

The Great Teacher called a little child unto Him, and set him in their midst, saying, "whosoever shall receive one of such children in My name, receiveth Me; . . . and whosoever shall offend one of these little ones that believe in Me, it is better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck and that he were cast into the depth of the sea." May the American people rise in their might, throw off the millstone, and be able to say, as did the Roman mother of old, "These are my jewels."

THE CHILD LABOR SITUATION IN OHIO AND BORDER STATES

By Wallace E. Miller,

Secretary of Ohio State Child Labor Committee.

The extent of child labor in Ohio and border states is not known in detail. Therefore, in respect of the number of children employed in factories, mines and elsewhere we have to content ourselves with general statements. It is apparently true that child labor exists in greatest degree in our industrial centers and in our greater towns. However, it is also true that juvenile labor abounds away from these industrial centers and larger towns to an increasing extent. Factories of various kinds are coming more and more to be located in rural places. The causes for it I will not discuss here. One result of this movement of the factory away from the large town is better control on the part of the employer of his labor force, due partly to isolation from disturbing influences, and due to the fact that he may have moved into the vicinity of a new supply of labor. Practically every boy and girl of the wage-earning classes can work and does work at some gainful occupation during some part of the year.

The demand for labor of all kinds is so great and, taken generally, so much in excess of the supply that it is not difficult for any boy or girl to get work to do if he or she wishes to. Much of this is work that is not harmful to the young worker, but it is inevitable that some toil in places where they should not and at times when they should be at home, in school, or at play. I believe there are many more rural factories now than there were ten years ago. These factories are accessible to a large part of our rural youth, and the rural youth do find their way to them. Everywhere one hears from the farming population complaints as to the scarcity of labor that may be hired; that all the young people seem to have gone to some factory. The consequence is that often the boy is

doing a man's work on the much approved farm and drawing for it nearly a man's pay.

Another cause for child labor is the haste of the wage-earning classes to get as large a share as possible of the prevailing prosperity, to get money to spend for the things that give satisfaction; in short, as one speaker has well said, to get more life. This desire, this greed of money getting, affects the small getters quite as much and with as great harmfulness as it does those of their elders, who are amassing or attempting to amass colossal fortunes.

In this greediness it is inevitable that some selfish or lazy parents should try to shoulder some of the burden of the support of the family upon shoulders too young and tender to bear it. And it is this that a good child labor law prevents.

Turning now from these apparent economic causes of child labor in the Ohio Valley states, let us observe that the Ohio Valley states, that is, those comprising the country drained by the Ohio River, have similar industries. In fact, situated as they are, and with their well known natural resources, it is difficult to name an industry found in one state that is not found in the other states drained by the Ohio River.

Whatever national law is passed, it is highly probable that the states will continue to have laws regulating their own local industries in respect to child labor. Whatever is done by the national government, local conditions will be dealt with by the local or state legislature. This must be so, since the states present so great a variance of industrial conditions. We have almost as many sets of conditions as we have states, but it seems to some of us highly desirable that states having similar industries should have similar child labor regulations. Especially is this desirable where two states with similar industries border upon each other.

An industrial map of the United States would not regard political boundaries, for our coal beds were laid down ages before there was any society to be divided politically; our cotton industry is located according to climate and the nature of the soil, and not according to political boundaries; forest-covered areas, wheat-growing areas, cattle-raising areas, ore-bearing areas are defined by lines that do not correspond to those drawn by government. With the exception of the water courses, rivers and lakes, natural lines have had nothing to do with the division of the country into

states. Our state boundaries may, therefore, be said to be arbitrary, and this arbitrariness is reflected in the state regulations of industry. In a sense child labor laws share in this imposed arbitrary nature of legislation.

This condition of affairs is creating confusion in the enforcement of the child labor laws where such laws exist. Where two states lie side by side, the one with a good child labor law, the other with a poor one or none at all, it is difficult in the state with the good law to enforce it, for children will come across the border to work and return home at night. This is believed to be true in thousands of cases along the Ohio River. They are not residents of the state, and neither the children nor their parents are amenable to the laws of the state in which they work. The employer of such labor is able practically to set at naught the laws of his own state in this particular. He gets his low-priced labor and the consequent advantage over his competitor who may be located further away from the boundary, where the latter cannot get cheap labor.

If the inspector goes to such an employer in an effort to enforce the laws of the state under which he carries on business, often the children are not there. They are across the boundary, there is no record, the inspector is involved in complicated interstate relations in trying to apply the law in a case where the residents of another state are involved. As a consequence, there is little or nothing of a practical nature that he can do. He is dealing with a situation that was not contemplated by the legislature.

There is still another feature of enforcement that is of even more importance than the foregoing. Suppose an attempt is made, as has been done repeatedly in Ohio, to enforce the law upon the border. The employer of child labor says, "If you enforce this law here we will move into the next state, where the conditions are more favorable to our business." They tell our legislators that; all do not believe they will move out of the state, but some do, enough do to weaken not only the enforcement of a good law, but to put an effective stop to the movement for better legislation. Such an argument has weight, for a state does not wish to lose any of its industries, for laws inimical to industrial development drive industries away, and such are not a good thing for the state. We may question honestly that the threat to move will be carried out, yet it is a sufficiently potent argument to hamper the enforcement of a law

and the attempt to extend its best features. In states where there is no law, but where one is in contemplation, I can readily see how this condition would exist and the border employers would resist its enactment.

Let us look at this now from the standpoint of the employer. Let us suppose there are two states lying side by side, one having an age limit of fourteen, the other having no age limit, or, at least, a lower one. The man in the state with the age limit wishes to conform to the law and yet if he does he is put under a disability. His competitor across the boundary has the advantage in competition, an advantage which he is quick to see and turn to his own uses. He is able to underbid the man who has a more limited supply of labor. The latter is continually harassed by this condition because he is less able to get and keep sufficient force for his factory. Then, too, he has to pay higher wages. This gives the employer of younger children an advantage in that his rate of wages is very likely to be lower than in the industry where child labor is more restricted. In all fairness, therefore, to these two men, they should, as far as possible, be subject to the same regulations, at least as far as ages and hours are concerned. I believe that employers themselves would prefer the latter condition, for it would put them on an equality, which would give their business stability. Stability and certainty are two things which every careful business man appreciates. The man in the state with a good child labor law is subject to the uncertainty which arises from unfair competition, and the man in the state with no child labor act is subject to the passage of one and the taking away of a source of profit. Sooner or later he will lose, but in the meantime undesirable conditions continue.

Hence it seems to me a plain proposition that adjoining states with competing industries should have as much uniformity as possible in their child labor regulations.

It is therefore pertinent and useful to inquire as to the points upon which uniformity is possible.

Of the various points covered in our best child labor laws there are points upon which our experience enables us to be in substantial agreement.

First among these is the age limit. A child of thirteen in one state is the same as a child of thirteen in another state. What is

bad and harmful for one is bad and harmful for the other. If it is injurious for a child of thirteen years to work in a factory in Ohio, it is injurious for a child of the same age to work in a factory in West Virginia, California, New York or anywhere else. It would seem, therefore, practical for the states to have the same regulation regarding age, and this would be the first long step toward uniformity.

The same remarks could be made with equal applicability in regard to hours. A twelve-hour strain is a twelve-hour strain, and is just as harmful on a fourteen-year-old boy or girl in one state as another.

The same statements are valid for specified occupations. A circular saw or belting is just as dangerous in Kentucky as in Ohio, and a child should not be permitted to work around such machinery in either state. Both states should prohibit it. There ought to be no difficulty in getting such a law passed in any state.

In other points, such as certificates, inspection, public notices, educational tests, physical tests, fines, etc., there might conceivably be room for a difference of opinion and of policy. But my contention is that on the fundamentals of child labor law adjoining states with the same industries should be in agreement for the sake of the child, for the sake of the industry, and for the sake of respect for law. How shall this desirable result be achieved? I know of no sure way except by educating the people of a state that is backward in this matter up to a point where they will introduce the desirable changes and improvements, and themselves see that they are carried out.

It seems to me undesirable in the extreme that our Ohio law should be set at nought and rendered worse than no law by the children that come into Cincinnati daily from the towns across the river to work in the factories and stores of this city. It is undesirable that children should be ferried across the river from West Virginia to work in our glass factories, or that our children should be ferried to West Virginia to work in their glass factories. It is undesirable that Kentucky children should penetrate sometimes thirty miles inland in Ohio to work in some canning factory. It is undesirable that a boy of a widowed mother able to support him in school should go to work in a box factory, after lying about his age, and there contract vicious habits, there to exhaust his nerve

strength so that the cheap garish theatre is all that will satisfy his craving for excitement. It is undesirable that the cupidity of a parent should prompt him to go to the school superintendent and lie about his child's age that the parent may get the fifty-five cents per day earned in a bolt factory to spend on lodges and euchre parties. It is undesirable, I say, that a boy of twelve years be sent nightly to disorderly places with telegraph messages, where vice is flaunted in his face and he is made familiar with its poisonous details. It is extremely undesirable that immigrant children, truant from school, should pick coal in the mining region.

These are the undesirable features of the child labor situation in the Ohio Valley in recent years and months. They are not set down here out of fancy, but are set down out of fact. Some of them are things that could never be touched, even remotely, by a national statute of a general nature, because a railroad, steamboat or other common carrier has nothing whatsoever to do with the operation. They must be regulated by the individual state exercising its functions as the guardian and instructor of its youth. It must be done by the state in co-operation with every other adjoining state.

Whatever may be said about other kinds of uniformity, the states touching the Ohio River must work in harmony or in unison for similar regulations, or a desirable adjustment of the present discord will be far to seek.

CHILDREN IN THE GLASS WORKS OF ILLINOIS

By Mrs. Harriet Van der Vaart,

Of Chicago, Vice-Chairman of Industrial Committee of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

All who have had experience in child labor legislation know that each state—sometimes a group of states—has its own particular problem to solve, relating to the employment of children in the industries of that state. In some states it is the mining industry; in others the cotton industry, and in Illinois, as in many others, it is the glass industry.

When we were working for our present law, the glass manufacturers of Illinois kept some one at Springfield to watch and oppose each step of the law, and in all of the arguments they always closed with, "If this law goes into effect it will drive this industry out of the state."

Perhaps all do not know the character of the work in a glass factory. Every glass blower has to have two or three boys to assist him in the work. The glass blower pours the molten glass into the molds; a boy sits and closes the molds; another one picks the bottles out of the molds and puts them on a long stick or handle, and puts them in front of a small furnace, which is called "the glory hole," where the top or the neck of the bottle is finished. Then they are placed on a long tray, and the boys carry them into the annealing furnaces, where they are gradually cooled.

One of the arguments advanced by those who are most interested in keeping boys in the glass factories is that it requires the agility and activity of boys to carry these bottles to the annealing furnaces, for they cannot get men or adults to run as these boys do most of the time betwen the ovens and the furnaces. The day shift of one week is always the night shift of the next, which means that the boy who worked during the day this week, the next week will work at night. The night shift generally leaves the factory at

half-past three or four o'clock in the morning. Now it is very easy to see that coming away from those heated furnaces out into the chilly, cool air of the winter morning makes the boys liable to colds and pulmonary diseases.

The moral influences surrounding the boys in a glass factory are generally bad. Anyone who visits a glass factory will see little saloons or grog shops all around the factory, and while a great many factories prohibit liquor being brought into the factory, all do not. In some factories the boys carry the liquor, but where it is prohibited this temptation meets them when they first leave the factory and, coming out into the chilly morning air, debilitated by the labor and heat, of course the temptation is great to take something that will stimulate them. Around all the factories there is a high board fence, and on top of this fence are two or three barbed wires. When I inquired at one of the factories the reasons for this, one of the reasons given me by one factory was, "Well, it keeps the boys in for one thing." The glass blowers are very dependent upon their helpers, and if the boys leave at a critical time the glass blowers are obliged to stop their work. Of course, I do not mean to say that this is the only reason for this high fence, but it is doubtless one.

The work of the boys in the factory is irregular and requires no training nor skill. In some factories where I visited I found that boys received forty cents extra at the close of the week if they worked the entire week and if they did good work.

Through the National Child Labor Committee two years ago I was permitted to visit a large number of the glass factories in both Indiana and Illinois. I not only visited the factories, but the homes also, to learn the health of the child, the grade he was in when he left school, the conditions of the factory, if he worked nights, and his wage, These and many other questions the schedules of the Child Labor Committee required to be answered. During this investigation I came to the conclusion that the character of the young help in the glass factory was greatly changed; that the most intelligent parents throughout the country were becoming convinced that the glass factories were not the places for their boys. It was very seldom that the child of a glass blower was found in the factory. Generally the children of glass blowers were kept in

school. Mr. Root, of the Root Glass Company, said: "The smaller number of boys that are found in the factories throughout the country is due to the changed conditions of labor. The large glass industries attract to them large numbers of foreigners, and the American boys are not being employed in the glass factories as they were some time ago."

I was told a number of times that the Glass Blowers' Union was the only thing that kept the intelligent workmen in the trade, and that manufacturers never objected to this union, because they recognized this fact: it is the only inducement that is offered to intelligent men and to parents to allow their boys to enter the work. The apprenticeship system among the glass blowers is such that a very long time is required, and it is a fact that a very few of the boys who enter the glass factories ever become apprentices.

One manufacturer admitted to me that the boys in the glass industry generally were smaller and not as well developed as the boys who had lived a normal life outside. He said he thought this did not argue that they were not as well.

Mr. Root did not object to the prevailing laws as long as his competitors were subject to the same restrictions; he did not think that a law prohibiting boys under sixteen from being employed *could* be enforced. He said he knew of one manufacturer where there had been returned thirty-two indictments against him, not one of which had ever been brought to trial.

At the time of my investigation I was convinced that there was some degree of reason in his remarks. At least I felt quite sure that the glass manufacturers were *not* obeying the laws in this respect.

I talked with the president of one of the large glass blowers' unions in Indiana. He said that he had been in that particular factory for three years; that during that time he had never seen an inspector or the results of a visit from one; that in the factories where affidavits were required the manufacturer simply sent home a paper by one of the children which was signed by the parent and brought back.

In one of the factories in Indiana I insisted upon seeing the affidavits. There was a little bundle of affidavits brought out to me that were several years old, none of which could apply to any of the children that were at that time employed in that factory.

The president of the union in Indiana said that he had worked in Alton as well as in Indiana, and he thought that the conditions were much worse in Indiana than they were in Illinois. Night work is not prohibited in Indiana. It was quite the customary thing for school children to go into the factory at night and work until eleven and twelve o'clock and go to school during the day. This would be found especially true on Thursday and Friday nights.

I went to the inspector's office in Indiana and talked with him in regard to the condition in Indiana, and he told me that he only had five inspectors; that with five inspectors a state the size of Indiana could not be inspected. This is something for us to consider. The factory force should have the number of inspectors that is necessary for thorough work and a sufficient appropriation to carry on the work.

The best factory I found was in Indiana—the Ball Brothers factory—which I hope is a sample of the future glass factory, where machinery is gradually taking the place of the boy. In talking with Mr. Ball, he said that he thought that the time was not far distant when machinery would take the place of boys in all glass factories.

It seems to me that the glass manufacturers are not only *not* living up to the law themselves, but that they are educating children to be law-breakers. When we visited Alton two years ago we went through the factory, both in the afternoon and in the evening, and we found a model factory. The next day when I was visiting in the homes of the children who worked in the factory, in order that I might gain the data required, I was told in quite a number of homes that this factory had known that we were to visit them, and had been prepared for our visit. After I had received a great deal of this information I went back to the factory and made known what I had discovered during the afternoon: that I had learned that they were prepared for our visit. Mr. Smith, of the Alton Glass Factory, said to me: "But, madam, if you were informed that the enemy was in the field, what would you do? Wouldn't you take all precautions that were necessary to protect yourself?"

When I was asked to talk upon this subject at the Third National Child Labor Convention I did not think it would be fair to speak upon the conditions as I found them two years ago. It seemed

obligatory at least to visit the largest plant, the Alton glass factory. I reached Alton last Wednesday morning, at eight minutes past six. I took a car and went down at once to the glass factory. On the way there a gentleman in the car told me that a few days before he had seen two little, very ragged, dirty boys taking the dinner out to their father in the factory, and he asked them why they were not in school. They said they did not have clothes to go to school, and one of them told him that the oldest one would be old enough next year to go to work. He told me that these two boys were growing up there without any education and were being kept at home for the sake of carrying their father's dinner every day.

When I arrived at the glass factory it was about half-past six. There are two large gates at the Alton factory where the employees enter to work. I stood at the upper gate from half-past six until a few minutes past seven, until all the employees had entered for work. I saw perhaps two or three hundred employees enter the yard. I did not keep an actual tally of the children that entered. But I am sure that I am giving a conservative estimate when I say that the age of at least forty or fifty of the children that went into that yard would have been questioned by any disinterested person.

I was told that our factory inspectors had been through Alton only a week before, and had found quite a number of violations, and that they had quite heavily fined the firm. Perhaps that is the reason why I saw so many that morning. I presume it is quite natural for a factory to feel that after a visit from the inspectors they certainly have a little time when they need not be so strict.

In the forenoon of this same day I went back to the Alton Glass Factory and asked if I might go through the factory. I was quite peremptorily refused. Mr. Levis said he didn't think it would do any good; that they had been painted quite as black as they could be, and he wasn't willing for me to go through their factory.

Not far away from where the factory is located there is a tract of land that is very low and swampy, a very uncomfortable place to live, but where a great many of the people live whose children work in factories. I went down into that locality and visited from house to house. At the second house I went into the sister told me that her brother was asleep; that he had worked the night before in

the factory. I asked her how old he was; she said he was fifteen. The next house that I went into there was a small boy in the room who, his mother said, was twelve. The boy said he had been sent home from the factory that morning because the inspectors were there. I asked her if he had an affidavit; she said, no. I asked him: "How long have you worked in the factory?" He said: "I've worked here one month—one week, days, and one week, nights." In going from house to house, I found a number of children whose mothers told me they were not sixteen; they were fourteen and fifteen, who had worked all night the night before in the factory. It seems to me from what I saw and heard that the Alton glass works are not living up to the requirements of the law.

Being so near East St. Louis, I also visited the glass factory there. On my way to the office I was overtaken by two girls, who told me that anyone could walk in, and one of them said, "I will take you where the children work, "we girls hide the kids when the factory inspectors come in." I said: "Why do you do it?" "O, well, I would like to be hid if I was their age; but," she said, "I think it is a mistake to send them to work so young. They are employing boys for thirty-five and forty cents a day to do men's work."

It was the time of recess, and at the door of the factory there was quite a large group—at least ten or twelve very small boys—who, at the sound of the whistle, scampered back to the furnaces. When I went into the factory the foreman tried immediately to attract my attention. He said: "I want to show you where they are putting glass into the furnace to be melted and where they are packing, that you may know the work is not hard. I saw at a glance that he was trying to give these boys time to get out of the way, but I saw a number of boys that any one would have said were certainly very small to be working in a glass factory.

From this investigation and my own judgment, I have come to the conclusion that the glass manufacturers throughout the country are not obeying the laws for the regulation of child labor; that they are not only not living up to the requirements of the law, but that they are teaching our young children that it is not necessary to obey laws.

Education is helping to eliminate the American child from the

glass factories, and that education must be extended. We must have a type of public school that will appeal to our foreigners; we must have more industrial education; we must have trade schools. If the parents and children were convinced that continuing in school meant industrial training; that it meant a step nearer receiving a living wage, and entering a more skilled trade, our factory and our compulsory education laws would be more easily enforced than they are at present.

CHILD LABOR AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

By Hon. Nathan C. Schaeffer, Ph.D.,

State Superintendent of Public Instruction in Pennsylvania.

Two problems which keep the superintendent awake at night are: to get all the children to school, and to get good teachers for all the schools. The superintendent very soon finds that he cannot solve the first of these problems unless the child labor laws are enforced; and the work of the National Child Labor Committee in helping to secure and to enforce these laws cannot bear its legitimate fruit unless we put good teachers into the schools.

There does seem to be a time in the life of the average boy when he holds the almighty dollar so close to his eyes that he sees nothing else in God's universe. You can sometimes keep the boy at school by showing him the value in future earning power of an education; but there are multitudes of boys, and even girls, whom you cannot get to school if they are allowed to go to work, that is, if they see at the end of the week several dollars that they can spend. Suppose you have kept the child out of the factory and out of the mine, what have you done? You have only begun the work. Punctuality is a school virtue; industry is another school virtue; obedience is still another school virtue. I feel in this connection like emphasizing veracity as a school virtue. I do not look upon deception about a child's age as an unimportant thing; the child that is taught to give an age two or three years below the real age in order that it may cheat the trolley company out of a nickel thereby forms habits of dishonesty that very easily lead to dishonesty toward the employer and the commonwealth and the nation.

If I had to write above the school the one grand aim of the effort of the school, I would put there in electric letters, "Truth." Truth is the aim on the intellectual side, and what truth is in the domain of the intellect, that truthfulness or veracity is on the side of conduct.

Does the child acquire these school virtues upon the street? Does it even acquire these virtues in a school in charge of a poor or inefficient teacher? The very atmosphere of a good school inculcates school virtues without which the individual cannot hold a place in any industrial establishment, even though he knows the catechism by heart, or can repeat entire chapters of the sacred Scriptures.

I claim, then, that on the side of character building we have only begun the work when we have excluded the child from the mine and the factory. Work, it has been said this evening, is an essential in the development of the child. It is the business of the school to prepare the child for civilized life; and it is characteristic of civilized man that he works, and that he finds pleasure in work, and that he is never quite satisfied when he is out of work, as for instance, during a strike.

The savage, on the other hand, dislikes work. He may impose it upon others, upon his captive or his squaw, but as for himself, he prefers sport and games and gambling, the excitement of the chase and of war.

Now if the child is to be trained for civilized life, it must be taught while at school not only how to work, but to find pleasure in work. It must acquire not only habits of work, but the power to stick to work even when the work becomes irksome; and that is only done under an efficient teacher.

We may view work as to its products. The products of work outside of the school bring a price in the market, and that is what interests the manufacturer; but the laws of nearly all states now say that the time of the child up to a certain age is so valuable that it must not be spent upon making things that will sell, but must be devoted to school work that will fit the child for the duties of civilized life.

There is another aspect of work that interests you people, and that is the reflex influence of work upon the worker. The very first paper to-night discussed the reflex influence of factory work upon the body of the worker. That is not all that this organization should study. The reflex influence of work upon the heart and the mind, upon the disposition and upon the character is quite as important as the reflex influence of work upon the body of the

worker. It is right there that I think the school must step in and help the work that you are trying to accomplish. If the reflex influence of the work that is done at the school makes the boy despise work with the hand, all your effort to have the child excluded from the factory and the mine and put into school is labor lost. If the life of that school does not beget in the pupil the ability to find pleasure in work, the ability to stick to work when the work becomes irksome, the ability to stand at his post and do his duty, then the school has failed, and your work is also a failure.

It is from this point of view that we have taken a profound interest in all this child labor legislation. I studied many phases of history when I was a student at the University, but of all the kinds of history that gave me encouragement in my studies, the history of legislation to save the child from white slavery in England was the most encouraging; and in spite of all the defects in the enforcement of our child labor laws, I still see in these efforts a happy day dawning upon us; I see in these efforts a means by which the superintendent can bring all the children to school.

THE VALUE OF PUBLICITY IN REFORM

By Arthur T. Vance,

Editor of the *Woman's Home Companion.*

A large corporation was giving a dinner to its heads of departments to celebrate the year of prosperity which had just closed. After feasting, speeches were in order, and finally came the turn of the gentleman who had charge of the German department. He got up and expressed himself as follows:

"*Gentlemens:* Ve vas all here, hafing a mighty goot time. Ve haf a right to haf a goot time, because ve haf been prosberous in business. Ve was also feeling goot, because ve haf lots of goot thinks to eat. Ve vas habby, because ve vas able to sit here und drink our champaign at four dollars a bottle, und smoke our cigars at fifty cents apiece mit de satisfaction of knowing dat the house vas standing for de whole exbense. But, gentlemens, ve must not forgot dose unfortunates elsewhere in de world who ain't feelin' so fine as ve vas to-night; dose unfortunate people who haf not got goot champaign to drink at four dollars a bottle und cigars to smoke at fifty cents apiece. Ve must not forgot dose poor peoples who haf not efen got a crust of breat on vich to lay their veary heads. Gentlemens, I tink ve should do somethings to show our feelings for dose poor peoples. I feel from de bottom of my bosom up dot now is de time to show our sympathy. Gentlemens, I probose dot ve gif tree cheers for de poor."

Now, the gentleman was earnest and meant well in his remarks, and really did not do any harm. In fact, if you look at it in the right way you will see that he was doing his best to give publicity to the cause of philanthropy.

I hope I shall not be accused of stealing Senator Beveridge's thunder if I tell you the story he told me of how he was led to introduce his much talked of federal child labor bill. A year ago Senator Beveridge prepared a stump speech which he delivered at various

public gatherings up and down the land. In this speech was a four line reference to child labor. The child labor paragraph was listened to with interest, of course, but it did not seem to arouse any especial enthusiasm. This was last year's speech. In starting out on this year's political campaign, Senator Beveridge was once more called to the stump. Now, Senator Beveridge is a mightly interesting talker any way, and we always listen to what he has to say, but this year he noticed in his very first speech, when he came to the little reference to child labor, that his audience began to sit up and take notice, so, with the inherent instinct of the born orator, ever watching the opportunity to drive home a good point, he added a few lines off hand. And thus the child labor paragraph began to grow with every repetition, as Senator Beveridge noticed more and more interest in that topic, until child labor came to be the dominant note of his address.

He looked around him for the reason for this remarkable increase in interest, and soon found out to his own satisfaction that it was due to the way the magazines and newspapers of the country had been talking about child labor month after month until public sentiment had been so thoroughly aroused that it had become a national issue. Here is a specific instance of the value of publicity in child labor reform.

Let us look at the situation from another point of view. Publicity in reform is merely the application of modern business methods to reform work. This statement is so obviously true that it seems almost unnecessary to make it.

The manufacturer who has a product in which he believes, spends thousands of dollars in buying publicity in the newspapers and magazines to tell the people of the country about the virtues of his product. We call this sort of publicity, advertising, and it is good advertising if the product lives up to the claims he makes for it. We, who are interested in reform, do precisely the same thing when we take steps to interest the newspapers and magazines in our pet theories, and if our reform is a good thing the people of the country will stand by and back us up. In other words, advertising publicity and reform publicity both accomplish the same thing. They arouse public interest and public sentiment in favor of the object which they have in view.

I do not think any great reform ever has been accomplished or ever will be accomplished without what we call public sentiment back of it. It is possible, of course, to persuade legislatures and congresses to pass laws, but laws are never adequately enforced unless backed up by public sentiment.

Not long ago a certain state passed a child labor law, not a very good one, but better than nothing, and among the inspectors appointed was a man who liked to sit on the fence until public opinion directed him on which side he should flop. He went among his neighbors, dropping a question here and a hint there to see if strict attention to the law would be required of him. He speedily discovered that rigid enforcement was expected and without delay. Public sentiment against child labor was rampant in that state, and the law just passed was a law that had been demanded by the women and mothers of the community, and they were determined that it should not become a dead letter.

Publicity has always been the active factor in the production of this public sentiment. This was true even in the old days. But then it was generally accidental publicity. When Charles Reade wrote "It Is Never Too Late to Mend" he did not think that his book was going to be so influential in hastening the cause of prison reform in England. When Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote "Uncle Tom's Cabin" she did not dream of the great reform her story was destined to work. Yet this was publicity of the finest sort. What a great thing it would be for child labor reform if the horrors, the pathos, the pity, the sin of it all could be masterfully presented in the form of a great novel.

But nowadays we plan publicity in a more systematic, more scientific manner. The problem is merely one of how best to reach the people whom we want to interest, whose help we want to enlist in the cause. A modern campaign of publicity is planned precisely as a campaign of advertising. And in both cases the effectiveness of the campaign depends upon the worthiness of the cause.

We have come to place a greater dependence than ever upon the power of the magazine in molding public opinion. This is not a reflection upon the daily press, whose good work the magazines always supplement, but it is simply due to a better insight on the part of the general public into the making of newspapers and magazines.

The public has figured out that the magazine, in the nature of things, is able to reflect a more mature opinion. Everybody knows that the magazine is the product of weeks and months, while the newspaper is the product of hours. The natural sequence is that the magazine article is given the greater credit and reliability.

It was magazine publicity that brought about the final downfall of the Louisiana lottery. It was magazine publicity that downed Bill Tweed. It was a magazine that prepared the way for the present investigations into Standard Oil. It was a magazine article that stirred up all this talk about the conditions in Panama, that finally led to the President going down there himself to investigate. The magazines have been foremost in the fight for pure food, and for the regulation of patent medicines. It can be safely said that the magazines of to-day are one of the greatest powers for good in the country.

It was also a magazine that aroused the public sentiment which has made child labor reform a national issue. The *Woman's Home Companion* took up the cause of child labor last spring. We did it because we thought it was a good thing and deserved our support. We decided then and there, with sincere enthusiasm and earnest purpose, to fight the evils of child labor with all our might and main. Reform should begin at home, so we looked to our own factory in Springfield, Ohio. There was no child labor there to stop, I am mighty glad to say, and there never had been, but after careful consideration of the case from every point of view, we voluntarily decided to give our employees at Springfield the eight-hour day, and now after 4.30 in the afternoon every man and woman in the plant is through with his or her work and given an opportunity to go home to their families, to till the garden and enjoy God's sunshine.

We have worked in sympathetic co-operation with the National Child Labor Committee from the start. We felt that we were in the position to give the National Child Labor Committee just exactly the assistance it most needed—publicity. We consulted with them and sent out our investigators and began to publish the series of articles on the evils of child labor, with which you all are familiar. The next step in this publicity campaign was to call upon our readers to manifest their interest in the cause by joining our Anti-Child

Slavery League. We asked Dr. Edward Everett Hale, America's grand old man, to write an appeal to the women of America to help in the anti-child labor crusade.

Exploited and made public in this manner, the Anti-Child Slavery League grew rapidly. The earnest people of the land, from Maine to California, hastened to enroll their names. Attorney generals of several states asked us to suggest adequate laws, presidents of colleges and of a multitude of societies wrote for information upon which addresses could be based, ministers of the Gospel everywhere applauded the work and offered to organize branch associations, the rank and file of the people took an active interest in the work, and finally we were asked by the National Child Labor Committee to merge more completely with it, so that the work of both organizations could be directed under one head and without duplication of energy.

We enlisted 2,000 of the most prominent newspapers of the United States to help us in our publicity campaign, thus placing the progress of child labor reform before the eyes of more than 5,000,000 people a week. We talked child labor reform from one end of the land to the other. In short, we brought to the work of the National Child Labor Committee and its kindred organizations just what they wanted and needed. And now, that an amalgamation between the National Child Labor Committee and the Anti-Child Slavery League of the *Woman's Home Companion* has been made, we are more heartily and earnestly enlisted in the cause than ever.

The results of this co-operative effort are already beginning to manifest themselves.

It was this widespread publicity campaign that led Senator Beveridge to realize the importance of the child labor issue. It was this same publicity that helped influence President Roosevelt to make the recommendation in his annual message that the national government take a hand in investigating child labor conditions. The President still further recognizes the value of this publicity in a signed statement, printed in the *Woman's Home Companion* for January, in which he expressed in ringing terms just where he stands on child labor reform.

This is only the beginning of the campaign of publicity in behalf

of child labor reform. I can pledge the continued support of the magazines and newspapers of the country. We have just begun our efforts in behalf of child labor reform. We will continue to do our share, and more than our share, wherever possible, until the glorious work of saving the children of the nation is an accomplished fact.

THE ENFORCEMENT OF CHILD LABOR LEGISLATION IN ILLINOIS

By Hon. Edgar T. Davies,

Chief Factory Inspector of Illinois.

Modern industrialism has produced modern individualism. It has developed a parenthood that is prone to raise children as human commodities for the factory, the mills, the mines and other places where avenues of employment are ever open to children. The result has been the growth of a child labor evil that is the shame of modern civilization. It has been fostered through three agencies—the employer; the commercialism of parenthood; and a lack of uniformity of legislation, restricting the employment of children under fourteen years of age, and regulating the employment of children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen. Lack of enforced laws in some states and lax methods of factory inspection in others have contributed in a measure to the result. There are states in which there have not been sufficient appropriations along with legislation; while in others the responsibility for the enforcement of laws has not been properly defined, and laws cannot enforce themselves.

In some localities child labor laws are not supplemented by adequate compulsory education laws, and in many states the age limit is too low, and there is not sufficient educational test. Possibly the curriculum of our public schools should be expanded to include the utilitarian as well as the educative, and to expand manual training that would educate the hand as well as the head. The inclination of most boys is for the manual as well as the academic. Some states do not protect children engaged in hazardous employment. All of these defects tend to a great social waste during that period of childhood that is most precious to the building up of the mind and muscle of future citizenship.

The question of child labor has become a source of such national apprehension that Senator Beveridge advocates a bill aimed at those

industries that encourage it. The question is one, however, that cannot be settled solely by a law that would regulate common carriers. The parent, the consumer and the public must do their share in a suppression of the evil.

I am pleased to announce, and I speak advisedly, when I say there has been a decrease in child labor in Illinois in the past three years to the extent of eighty per cent. This gratifying result is due to the enforcement of the new child labor law which was enacted in 1903; to the policy of individual inspection; to tempering the enforcement of the law with a campaign of education among employers, giving them an opportunity to be heard before they are prosecuted for alleged violation of the law; and to the policy of the state factory inspector's office in enforcing a measure that was enacted in the name of humanity and at the request of all creeds.

I believe in prosecution where moral suasion fails. Where repeated carelessness among employers caused technical violations of the law, the offenders have been prosecuted with good results. Prior to 1903 our factory inspectors were handicapped by inadequate legislation. One of the great evils that caused so much child labor in Illinois previous to 1903 was a law which exists to-day in a number of other states, viz.: "The issuance of certificate merely upon the affidavit of the parent or guardian." This pernicious system merely places a premium upon child labor and perjury. Out of one hundred test cases in Chicago in 1902, it was found that eighty-two of the children involved were so small in stature, as to arouse the suspicion of factory inspectors, who investigated the baptismal and birth records of these children, and ascertained that they were only eleven, twelve and thirteen years of age, notwithstanding the fact that they had gone to work on certificates issued by notaries public, and sworn to by their parents, attesting that these children were fourteen years of age. Based upon these test cases, it was estimated, at that time, that out of 15,000 children employed in Cook County on affidavits 3,000 were under fourteen years of age, the legal age limit to go to work. The false affidavit system which exists to-day in many of the states in a large measure contributes to the employment of children under the legal working age, aided and abetted by parents, who place commercialism above conscience, and by the notary public, who is guided by the spirit of greed to get his fee at the sacrifice of the future welfare of the child. In

view of the fact that these test cases in Chicago in 1902, demonstrated that one out of five children who were then employed was under fourteen years of age, it is logical to deduct, without fear of successful denial, that where a child labor law does not require absolute proof of age such legislation in every state is responsible, to a great degree, for the federal census returns, showing the employment of so many children under fourteen years of age. Doubtless the parents gave the child's correct age to the census enumerator, and then perjured themselves to the notary public, or the official who issued the working certificate.

Another defect in the old child labor law of Illinois—which exists to-day elsewhere—was the lack of requirement for an educational test before the child was eligible for employment. This merely encourages illiteracy. It is a menace to the future productive value of the child, and will be an inevitable contributor to delinquency or dependency in youth, and eventually the prison or the poorhouse when that child's life ripens into maturity. Usefulness and success in civic and industrial life depends upon the fundamental principles of health and education; upon the moral and intellectual advancement of childhood, and proper mental and physical equipment for the occupational life.

Under the old statutes of Illinois there was not sufficient protection to children in hazardous employment, in those vocations that jeopardized health, life and limb. This inadvertence, which Illinois has remedied, still exists in other states to-day, with the exception of Ohio. Nothing so appeals to the sympathy of human kind as the child on the crutch, or the child whose life has been deformed, and its vitality sapped as a result of the shortsighted policy of careless employers, who permitted the child to be employed at a dangerous or injurious occupation before that child was old enough to exercise proper discretion for personal safety. The result has been, the child was crippled for life.

Under the old law in our state, small children were employed in industrial plants, flitting like little shadows of the night in the domain of an industrialism, that even defied the laws of nature. While thousands of more fortunate children were at home in bed, many of the victims of child labor worked all night in the glass works, withering their young lives away before the hot glare of the furnaces. Humanity demanded, and humanity obtained, a clause in

the new law, which provides that children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen cannot work between the hours of 7 p. m. and 7 a. m. It also demanded that if eight hours was long enough for a man to work, it was long enough for a child to work. As a result, improved legislation regulating and restricting the hours of employment of children in Illinois has been of great value to the health of thousands of children employed in manufacturing, mercantile and other pursuits.

The eight-hour clause of our law applies to every day and month in the year. Some states make an exception for the busy season. Childhood should be protected at *all* seasons—particularly during the rush incident to the Christmas holidays—in department stores and in other places of employment, where increased activity places an extra burden of long hours upon the shoulders of tired and overworked childhood.

The Illinois statute of to-day provides that no child under fourteen years of age shall receive a certificate to go to work, and that no child between fourteen and sixteen shall receive a certificate to do so, unless said child can read and write simple sentences. The system of issuing certificates safeguards proof of age and requires this educational test. It further provides for an initiatory certificate, to be obtained from the principal of the school the child last attended, which it presents to the superintendent of public or parochial schools, who then issues the age and school certificate, or permit, upon which the child goes to work. As evidence of the fact that many children enter industrial life before they have completed an elementary education, the official records show that from July, 1903, to the close of 1905, 30,643 working certificates were issued in Chicago by the superintendent of public schools, and that of this number only 6,601 pupils had finished eighth grade, and 16,199 had not reached seventh grade.

As evidence of the great value of co-operation between compulsory education and child labor laws, the enactment of a new compulsory education law in Illinois at the same time that a new child labor law was passed in 1903, made it possible for factory inspectors and truant officers to co-operate in the successful promotion of attendance at both the public and parochial schools. The school enrolment and average daily membership in Chicago—par-

ticularly in the elementary grades—have been greatly improved within the past three years. The average annual truancy absences in Chicago, including repetitions, one year prior to the enactment and enforcement of the child labor and compulsory education laws, were 7,536; one year after these laws went into effect these truancies were decreased to 5,673, or a reduction of nearly 2,000 truancies within the period of one year. And in addition to checking truancy, there was an increase at the public schools, according to Superintendent E. G. Cooley, of some 8,000 pupils above the natural increase in population. There was also an increase in the parochial schools, notably in St. Stanislaus Parish, where it became necessary to build an additional parochial school, to accommodate the demand for seats. This parish is in the heart of one of the cosmopolitan centers of Chicago, in which the Polish nationality predominates, and among a class of children, many of whose parents formerly adhered to the theory of the productive instead of the educative.

There has also been a reduction in the employment of children in the Chicago sweatshops from 14½ per cent to 9 per cent. The percentage of children employed in Illinois, in 1893, was 8.2 per cent; the present percentage has been reduced to 1.5 per cent. When we consider that the Illinois inspectors cover every possible kind of an industrial or mercantile plant, store, or shop, mine or factory, this is the lowest reported percentage of child labor of any state in the Union. In 1893, out of every thousand wage-earners employed in mercantile and industrial establishments, eighty-two were children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen. In 1905 this ratio was reduced to fifteen children of every thousand persons employed.

Child labor has been driven from the coal mines of Illinois. This was accomplished by my interpretation of the clause of the law governing hazardous employment—an interpretation that was combatted by the coal operators' association. A test case was subsequently brought in the courts, in which I was sustained, and as a result 2,200 children were emancipated from a life of underground servitude. Consequently, to-day no child under the age of sixteen can work in a coal mine in Illinois.

These results could not have been achieved if our efforts had been confined to moral suasion. Persuasion is a divine and beautiful

thing, but the enforced law, with a penalty attached, is more effective.

During the year ending December, 1905—the latest obtainable for comparative statistics—we prosecuted and secured convictions of 531 defendants on 994 counts. The vigilance of inspectors, backed by the firm policy of the department in prosecuting offenders, has been the greatest factor in the reduction and gradual elimination of child labor in Illinois.

When the law was first enacted, the department, realizing that enforcement should be tempered with fairness, distributed 72,000 copies of the law to educate employers throughout the state, and thus the industrial and mercantile public was fully advised of the requirements of the new statute. This action was prolific of good results. It proved a source of much value, not only to employers, but to school authorities, the press, and the labor and public-spirited organizations interested in an enactment that was for the immeasurable good of the commonwealth.

It is the policy and the system of the Illinois state factory inspector's department, to inspect industrial and mercantile establishments in every town and city, of a thousand population and over. The work covers every store, office, laundry, mercantile establishment, theatre, concert hall, place of amusement, factory and workshop in each town and city visited. The inspectors question individually each child employed. They record all suspects. They call upon the public and parochial school authorities and ascertain the true age of all such suspected children, and obtain from the school authorities the names and addresses of all children who deserted the school for the factory without having obtained from the school authorities a proper permit.

We have women as well as men inspectors. We also maintain a night inspection as well as day inspection, recording all inspections made, so that we may be guided in properly disposing of any violations found on a future visit. School authorities are required by the statutes to report to us all violations coming to their attention. All complaints—from all sources—are acknowledged and investigated, and the complainant informed as to the results of the investigation. This system required the inspection in the last year of over 70,000 places, representing 264 towns. All children under the

age of fourteen found employed are reported to the school authorities.

In Illinois we believe in a spirit of co-operation between the factory inspector, the truant officer, the teacher, the social settlement worker, the probation officer, the club woman, and all humanitarians who are soldiers in the common cause of battling for the protection and the advancement of child life. Unity of effort among child-helping agencies and representatives of every creed, and every organization interested in childhood was responsible for the victory in the legislature that gave us our new child labor law, in spite of the powerful opposition of corporations that opposed it. We believe that the repression of child labor and the necessity of compulsory education are essential for the good of the community, for the good of future citizenship, for the safety of society and the destiny of the republic. The spirit that demands the emancipation of children from industrial slavery is but natural in the state that Lincoln loved.

Particularly do we realize the fact that if factory inspectors exclude a child from employment in a factory or workshop, that child should not be permitted to run at large upon the streets, for it is upon the street that evil associations corrupt childhood. For that reason the return of the child by the truant officer is a factor in insuring an intellectual future after the child has been dismissed from employment.

We are in need, however, of additional legislation in Illinois, that will compel a child, after having reached the age of fourteen, to either go to work or continue at school, after it has attained this maximum of the compulsory attendance age. A child between the ages of fourteen and sixteen should not be permitted to waste these two valuable years of its life in idleness that will inevitably contribute to crime in the future. It is from juvenile delinquency that adult crime receives so many recruits.

The census figures of 1900, relative to the number of children employed at gainful occupations in Illinois, do not apply to present conditions, as the census was taken six years ago.

It must be realized that Illinois is a great agricultural state, and that many children between the ages of ten and fifteen were employed on farms at certain periods of the year. In the urban life, most particularly in Chicago, many children sell newspapers

after school hours, and are exempt under the child labor law. It is to be remarked in the passing that the school records show that thousands of children, some of whom formerly worked in the factories under the old affidavit system, were taken from their places of employment and placed in school in 1903-04. The question of the employment of children under fourteen years of age does not apply in any marked degree to present conditions in Illinois. It must also be remembered that the census enumerators quite likely included in their estimate of females between ten and fourteen years of age, a number of girls who were engaged in domestic service in the home, as well as boys who assisted on the farm. At the time the census was taken there were doubtless thousands of children employed in the coal mines of the state. This evil has since been eradicated by the decision of the courts, which makes it impossible for a child under sixteen to work in a coal mine.

The latest available statistics of the number of children employed at gainful occupations are in the annual report of the Illinois state factory inspector for the year 1905, which shows the results of inspection in 70,539 industrial and mercantile plants, stores and offices, and other places where children were employed. The number of children under sixteen years of age employed in these 70,539 places in the state, in 1905, was 11,752, compared to 19,839 in 17,209 places inspected in 1901. These figures do not apply to agricultural pursuits, or street trades, or domestic service.

Our problem in Illinois, therefore, is confined largely to the regulation, protection and hours of employment of children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen. The new child labor law absolutely prohibits the employment of children under fourteen at any time of the year in any store, office, laundry, mercantile institution, factory or workshop, etc., or in any other occupation during the period that the schools are in session.

The present procedure of proving age by methods other than the mere statement of the parent, practically abolishes the employment of children under fourteen. Therefore it will be seen that the former conditions in Illinois, that prevailed in 1900, and which were made possible by a lax law and a lax method of inspection of only 14,219 plants in that year, have been supplanted by improved legislation, that is both stringent and effective; by an increased activity

of inspectors, that has made it possible to cover 70,539 plants in 1905, and to show a decrease in child labor between fourteen and sixteen years of age from 3.3 per cent in 1900, when the census was taken, to 1.5 per cent in 1905.

The new compulsory education law of Illinois now compels children in the country districts—between the ages of seven and fourteen—to attend school the entire time the school is in session. The minimum period in the country districts is 110 days of actual teaching, and the period in the city districts is forty weeks, or the full school year.

In Chicago there is a great cosmopolitan population. Of the parents who send their children to work only 20 per cent of these parents are of American birth. About 23 per cent are born in Germany; 12 per cent in Bohemia; 10 per cent in Sweden, Norway and Denmark; 8 per cent in Russia; 8 per cent in Ireland; 5 per cent in Italy; 4 per cent in Poland, and the remaining 10 per cent from the other countries of Europe. About 20 per cent of the children go to work within one month after they are fourteen years of age, and 40 per cent within four months thereafter. This shows a tendency on the part of many parents to send their children to work as soon as they have completed the compulsory school attendance age, at fourteen. Many of these parents have a limited knowledge of English, and quite a number of them cannot read or write. From a physical standpoint, the children of American-born parents appear to be in the best condition. The Polish children are poorly developed in chest measurement and are stunted in growth. The Italian and Russian children are usually short in stature. It seems to be the perversity of fate that in large families the revenue is small, and the lack of socialization of the parents and their poverty in life is due to their own deficiency of education. Hence, were it not for legislation in Illinois, that requires compulsory school attendance, these children would receive the unfortunate heritage of an illiterate and indifferent parenthood.

It has always been the apology of the south, for the prevalence of child labor, that it was a charitable impulse to put children to work who were the products of the impoverished home, and who came from large families, where the combined earnings of children were necessary to assist in the support of the parents. It is, there-

fore, apparent that the conditions in Chicago, in the colonies of the foreign-born population, made possible by our present lax immigration laws, present the same excuse, because it was the custom of the parents abroad to send children to work at a prématurе age. But the Illinois law inculcates the American principle into the hearts of these immigrants, with the result that they are compelled to send their children to school until they are fourteen years of age. Hence the children are not a menace to the wage scale of the adult, and we work parents more and children less. We must not blame the south alone for the prevalence of child labor in its mills, so long as northern capital operates these mills and is deaf to the cry of the children.

The ideal child labor law does not exist. But I believe the present statute of our state is one of the best and in advance of any so far enacted by our legislatures. It can be further improved, however, by imposing increased authority upon a factory inspector, to demand, wherever necessary, a certificate from a physician of good repute, showing that the child in question is physically able to perform all of the duties required of it, and that the employment of said child will not imperil its health. It should also be amended to state specifically that the child should be able to read and write in the English language, and to pass a reasonable educational test in that language, instead of being accepted for employment on the present limited educational test of reading and writing simple sentences in any language.

There should also be provisions to regulate the street trades, such as newsboys, venders, etc., and an amendment to protect girls between the ages of sixteen and eighteen, and to prevent their employment at night, or the employment of any girl or boy between these ages in any concert hall or place of amusement where intoxicating liquors are sold.

The boys and girls of this day and generation represent the fathers and mothers of the future. If child labor is permitted to increase; if we do not throw safeguards about the children of today, to protect their health, their morals and their education, the question of this republic will not only be one of race suicide, but race decay, that will result in this country losing the laurels which it now possesses, as the most enlightened and progressive in the world.

Our flag waves a welcome to the oppressed on foreign shores. But the immigrant must be impressed when he comes from the fatherland of Europe, that this is America, and that the precious trinity of our national life is the home, the school, and good citizenship. Upon these tenets a great country has risen to stand supreme among the nations of the earth, with fidelity and protection for its children, as well as the stability of its people and the purity of its homes.

And we should say unto capital at home, "Do not permit the competitive life to build up our industrial institutions upon the vitality of little children, or permit the factory to rob the school of that rising generation, upon whose shoulders rests the future and the fate of this republic.

CHILD LABOR AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

By Samuel McCune Lindsay, Ph.D.,
Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee.

The restriction or the abolition of child labor will impose new duties and open up new opportunities for the public school everywhere. What is the cost of child labor, not to the children in terms of stunted bodies and dwarfed minds, but to society, in terms of racial and industrial deterioration? We frequently ask that question and usually answer it by coming to a firm conviction that it does not pay. It is not worth the price we pay for it. It is equally necessary that we should ask ourselves what will it cost society to restrict or to abolish child labor. This cost will be measured largely in terms of the cost of additional schools, better and more varied training, including, of course, trade schools, and some additional relief for poverty.

Education is fundamental in the normal evolution of society and of the state. Therefore the public school should be as comprehensive as the needs of the state itself, and the supreme object of public responsibility. We are still far from a realization of this axiomatic truth in any part of these United States of to-day, though we seem to have set our faces in that direction even in the poorest and most backward sections of our country. The great Social Education Congress recently held in Boston is a proof of this fact. Not many years ago, in another section of our country, only a few hundred miles from Boston, I heard emphatically defended from a public platform another doctrine, namely, that the state has no responsibility nor concern for education beyond furnishing the mere rudiments to pauper children, and that the proper function of the public school is to be in reality nothing more than a pauper school. While such doctrine would meet with little acceptance in any community now, it is well to recall the fact that it is less than a century since we established anywhere a system of public schools based

upon a radically different idea. Many of us still act as though we were satisfied that the state had discharged its full responsibility when it has taught the spelling book to only a fraction—even though a large fraction—of its children. Education carried beyond the spelling book becomes increasingly expensive and the taxpayer's voice and vote increasingly insistent that we do not go too far.

It is to be earnestly desired that, in every public gathering like this, where the permanent welfare of the child is an object of concern and discussion, we ask *how far is far enough.* Let us ask this question in a wholly disinterested manner, having taken note not only of the interest of the taxpayer, important as that is, but also of the equally important interests of the state, and of all her children who constitute her greatest asset, even when measured in terms of their economic value. We shall be able to answer the question: How far must the state go in the use of its power and revenues for the promotion of public education, for our own day and generation, if we study carefully the new duties and responsibilities which the Zeitgeist imposes.

I shall now endeavor to point out two or three ways in which some new expansive forces are acting on the public school:

(1) A new and more intense social spirit pervades the republic. This is an inevitable consequence of improved communication, a result of the development in transportation by land and water, the telegraph, telephone, newspaper, the increase in wealth and interchange of products. The individual, family, town, city or state can no longer live an isolated life, but is almost instantly affected by the prosperity, health and wealth, or by the poverty, disease, ignorance and vice of other groups with whom they are in close relation, but over whose acts they have only an indirect control. It is no longer possible within the bounds of our western civilization to keep social opportunities at radically different levels, to have a part of the population densely ignorant and inefficient and to guarantee the advantages of culture and efficiency to another part. Inter-communication, which is the very life of modern commerce, is the siphon that connects the various sections of our country which provide unequal opportunities and educational advantages which must henceforth seek a common level or some basis of equalization.

(2) All the children of the republic are equally objects of its concern. We can no longer fail to ponder seriously the facts that

show 10.7 per cent of the population over ten years of age illiterate, which must mean that it has not been touched at all by the school, public or private; that show only 50.5 per cent of the population five to twenty years of age attending school; that show only 79.8 per cent of the population ten to fourteen years of age attending school in those years which should be so sacredly guarded as the golden educational and preparational period in the life of every boy and girl; facts that show that one in every six children ten to sixteen years of age is engaged in some gainful occupation, trying to earn his or her own bread, or contribute to the support of a family; and finally the fact that at least 500,000 children of these ages are engaged in specially hazardous occupations which are quite likely to sap their nervous energy, stunt their physical growth, blight their minds, destroy their moral fiber and fit them for the social scrap heap before they have ever had any real chance to respond to stimuli that probably would make of most of them valuable members of society. The public school has not fulfilled its mission until it can answer for the whereabouts of every child within its jurisdiction and guarantee to the state that all its children are being properly educated, their energies properly safeguarded, until they reach the age of full discretion, whether at work, study or play—and all three of these factors should enter into the growth of every child.

(3) The demand for efficiency is a demand for training. Not only must all the children of the nation be reached by the school, not only is it the legitimate concern of the people of Georgia to see that the children of Massachusetts are being reached by the public school, and *vice versa,* but also must we see that these children are raised at least to a certain minimum level of efficiency in doing the things at which they are destined to spend the major portion of their lives, and through the doing of which they in turn will support themselves and the state. There is no place in a democracy for public education that is not vocational in addition to being cultural. Are American standards of humanity, of political sagacity, and of common business shrewdness sufficiently high? Will they protect childhood from the greed of employers who are grappling with the difficulties of a short labor supply and high wages, and who would draft the child into their service because he can be had easily and for small wages? Will they protect children from the greed of vicious parents who would rid themselves of the duties and respon-

sibility of parenthood, or from the indifference of ignorant parents to the sacrifice of their children, or from the dire necessity of the poor parent who is driven by hunger to offer his child unto Moloch? If we are prepared for legislation forbidding child labor under fourteen years of age in all occupations, and under sixteen years of age at night work and in specially dangerous occupations, we must also be prepared to pay the cost of this new social standard. The cost means more schools and better schools, schools that will do all in the way of trade education and more for the child than he can receive from any factory, mine or workshop, and finally make provision for his physical necessities sufficient to enable him to improve the opportunities in all cases where the poverty of parent or guardian makes this impossible. The state now furnishes a school room, desks, pencils, books and materials, irrespective of the child's ability to pay for them, because in this way, and only by so doing, as experience proves, do we get the desired community result from the school as a whole. It is an equally important factor in the ability of the pupil to do a good day's work at school that he come to school properly fed and clothed, and we must be prepared to provide in some way for the physical needs of underfed and improperly clothed school children if we expect our schools to be really efficient. Whether we do this from the public school budget or not, as we now buy text-books and maps, is not half so important a question as the fact that the school is now committed of necessity to seeing that it is done. The public may decide that it prefers to rely upon private agencies or philanthropy to provide the means, nevertheless, in seeing that it is done, the school is brought into closer organic relations to the life of the community and the vital interests of the child are enhanced.

(4) The public school is an administrative department of government. The President's Cabinet needs a Secretary of Education even more than a Secretary of War—and the present versatile, high-minded and able-bodied occupant of the latter post could most worthily hold the educational portfolio. Every Governor needs a Superintendent of Public Instruction as a more active member of his council than a Secretary of the Commonwealth can possibly be, and the Mayor of every town and city needs the Superintendent of Schools as a right-hand adviser more than he needs a Police Commissioner. Our public schools must be prepared to enlarge their

administrative duties if they expect to get a larger share of the public revenues so urgently needed to carry on their work. Already in large cities the tenement house inspectors, the health officials and sanitary inspectors, the factory inspectors and many other public officials depend increasingly on school teachers and school officials for aid in their work, because the teachers and school officials are in closer and more vital relation to the homes of the people than any other body of public officials. It is a short-sighted policy for any school official to resist these new demands on his already overtaxed fund of energy, because by responding to them he will find the quickest relief which will come through public appreciation of the great burdens he is now carrying and the willingness to give him more adequate support. Unfortunately, few departments of administrative government are in general so poorly organized on the business side as our departments of public education. In none is it more difficult to get satisfactory reports of what is being done, enlightening statistics that enable one to measure results or to calculate the relative cost of work done and that which is left undone because of lack of means. All this works to the disadvantage of the school and the teacher, because the public at large is more sympathetically inclined to support and develop public education than any other department of social work, if its needs can be properly presented for public discussion. It is safe to say that there is no city system of schools in the United States that could not legitimately absorb within the next ten years the total sum of money now raised and that will be raised at the present tax rate for all public expenses in that city each year during the next ten years, and that the legitimacy of this demand would be admitted and the means found through new sources of revenue, if the facts were placed before the public by the school officials, who should know them, and in a way to be clearly understood by the public and the organized agencies now doing the social work of these several localities. What I have just said of our city system of schools, I believe, would hold equally good for many smaller town and country districts.

(5) The public school, next to the parent, is the proper guardian of the rights of childhood. It must in all cases co-operate with the parent in the performance of this duty, and where the parent is wanting or unfit, as is sometimes the case, the school, as the chief agent of the state for this purpose, becomes the sole executor. In

our present-day industrial system, the rights of childhood are being invaded and nullified in no more important and unnecessary manner than in the widespread prevalence of child labor. Why have schools at all, and why pass compulsory education laws, if at the same time we permit the employment of children of school age and thereby create conditions which tempt employers, parents and children alike to make both schools and laws of no avail. The public school should, therefore, be the leader of the forces militantly and wisely engaged in the efforts to abolish child labor and regulate the abuses of the rights of childhood.

CHILD LABOR AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

By Charles W. Dabney, Ph.D., LL.D.,
President of the University of Cincinnati.

As a member of the profession of school teaching in Cincinnati, I am very happy to have the opportunity to express our appreciation of the Convention of the National Child Labor Committee meeting in our city.

Although we have very good laws in Ohio, comparatively speaking, and we believe that they are enforced as well as might be under present conditions, we find ourselves quite in the position of the good people of New York. We need to be educated, we need to have the public opinion of our community better informed and our hearts and consciences quickened to the importance of the execution of these statutes.

A gentleman told me yesterday an incident that will illustrate our need in this respect. A rather prominent lady who saw an advertisement of the great meeting last night in the daily papers remarked to another lady, "Well, I am glad to see that there is going to be a meeting here for child labor. I am really tired of seeing so many big children ten years old playing in the streets." I think I will take her remark for my text.

As was said at the meeting last night, the object of government is not merely the protection, but the development of men. That lesson was enforced last night by every speaker, I believe, who addressed us. In Cincinnati, as in other parts of the country, we are coming to realize better and better that government does not mean merely jails and policemen, but it means every agency for the complete development of the child and the man. As I look at it, there are a number of institutions in society that develop man, five of which I will mention: the home, the school, the church, the state, and the professional and industrial occupations. Through them man is to be developed and made a complete human being.

The most important of these is the home; for the home is that institution in which the child discovers his relations to his brethren. In the school the child discovers his relations to the youth of his own age. In the state he discovers his relations to his fellow-men. In business he learns more about his relations to his fellow-men and their needs. And in the church he discovers the relations of his spirit to the great Father of all spirits.

It is through these institutions, then, that we are to develop this complete man. In considering their relative importance in this process we are led to ask, is the home doing its duty, here in Cincinnati and in America? My friends, let me say this much: I do not believe that this curse of child labor is to be attributed entirely to the greed of manufacturers. I think we may have put too much emphasis on that. They are greedy for cheap labor, to be sure, but what about the greed of the parent? Neither is it true that child labor is to be traced altogether to the greed of the parent combined with the greed of the manufacturer. The child himself is often greedy—greedy for activity, for association, for money, and so for work. Though doubtless he is encouraged in this from the very first by his parents, his greed is one influence. Let us not put the responsibility for it wholly upon any of these. I tell you one great reason that the child goes to the factory is that the home is not what it ought to be; and one great reason that the home is not what it ought to be is that here in America we have not a proper distribution of the results, the products of labor. It is the poverty of the home that drives the child into the factory. If we had in this so-called free republic a proper distribution of the wealth of all the people through the homes of all the people, we would not have that curse of poverty which is driving the children into the factories and causing child slavery.

I wish I had the time to speak of the home as an influence against child slavery; but I must say that wherever the home is what it ought to be, there the man and the woman are the citizens they ought to be. Take the great German nation as an example. It is the home tie that makes the German what he is. It is his love of home and love of the school, which is everywhere the supplement of the home, that has made Germany the great power in Central Europe. So it is with the English people; and with the Scotch more especially. It is their pure Christian homes and their schools

that, ever since the days of John Knox, have made them a power in Great Britain. I believe every member of the present Cabinet of the Liberal Party in England is a Scotchman, and with two exceptions, that there is not a single English lord in the list. It was Scotchmen who established nearly all of our American institutions and who built practically all of our schools. In the land where we find pure homes and good schools, there we find strong men and strong women coming up in every generation.

Next in order would come the influence of the church and religious societies in the development of the spirit; but I must pass that over and talk to you for a few moments from the standpoint of the teacher about the school as a preventive of child slavery. In old times here in America, and more particularly in Germany, in England and the other older countries, there were home industries, besides those of the farm, to train the children to work. For I hold, my friends, that every child needs to be taught to work; but he needs to be taught not in the factory, but in the home and on the farm, with proper surroundings and under proper conditions. I believe that it is a part of the education of every child to be so trained to honest toil. It is just as much a part of his education as training to write or cipher. The old Hebrews believed this; every truly great people have had some system of training their children in manual labor.

Under the old conditions the American child was trained in many trades and industries on the farm. In my boyhood I knew such a farm home in old Virginia. How glad I am that I had that privilege. Upon that old farm there were the flour mill, the cooper shop, the blacksmith shop, the sawmill, the carpenter shop, the tannery and shoe shop, and many other like industries, and we boys had the opportunity of gaining some familiarity with all of them. Then there was not merely the kitchen, but there were the spinning and loom house, the dyehouse, and various other domestic industries grouped around the old plantation home, in which the white girls took part with the negro women. So the boys and girls both had a training in hand work at home under the most healthful conditions that it is possible to conceive. So it was all through the country to a larger or smaller extent.

The trouble at the present day is that since this crowding into cities and this infinite division of industries, opportunities are no

longer afforded in the home for teaching the children to work. So we let them go to the factory.

Now, the child really loves work; the normal child is filled with the love of activity; the desire to do things is constantly stirring him and seeking an outlet. The boy naturally wants to be doing something. A little boy came to my office and wanted to hire as an office boy. I looked at him and said, "My little fellow, you ought to be in school. What do you want to hire out here for?" He said, "I am tired of school—nothing doing." That was a new idea to me —tired of school here in Cincinnati because there was "nothing doing." This boy of fourteen years wanted to go to work because there was "nothing doing" in our schools. I asked myself what that meant. On further inquiry I learned that he meant that he did not see any good in it at all. He had learned to read, write and cipher, and something of geography, history, etc., but he wanted to take an active part in the life of this great city. He wanted to be working, to be making some money and having something to spend, perhaps, but, most of all, to be out in the big world and doing something.

The child wants to get into life, or to be where there is "something doing," and the trouble is that in too many of our schools there is "nothing doing" to meet the active mind of a boy. He is not satisfied with the conventional education, just the three R's and nothing else.

What then have we to do as school teachers? Give them manual training? Yes, manual training is a very good thing as far as it goes. But we have to do more than that; we must put real industrial training in the schools, because we now have nothing of that in the home or on the farm. We live in the cities; we cannot supply our children with such opportunities; we therefore must have more of them in our schools.

"Too many big children playing in the street," the lady said. You laughed at it, as I did at first; but do you know that is a great truth? There are too many children here in Cincinnati playing in the streets. A friend tells me that there are probably fifty thousand children in this city who have no other place to play and go into the streets, because by the very law of their natures they have got to play. So that one of the things we have to do is to provide trade education, industrial education. We must provide opportunities for

the development of the whole life of the child—not merely his intellect, but his physical and his moral being also—and it is chiefly through play, through association with his fellows, that he develops these phases of his nature. Next to industrial education the great needs of our schools are playgrounds and recreation centers.

If we provide for the whole life of the child, for the development of his whole nature; if we provide sufficient avenues for his characteristic powers and activities; if we give him opportunity both to learn and to work as he wants to work and to build up and develop his social nature as he desires, and do it in the school, he will continue there as long as we want him to stay. Let us have not merely manual training, but industrial education; let us have playgrounds in greater measure; let us give the life of the child free vent. The great longing of every human being is for life, ever more and ever more life. This is the great call that comes up from the poor and oppressed everywhere; from the poor farmer living in his sod hut in the far west, as from the factory slave in his dark tenement in the city, ever the call comes, "Life, more life!" It is the demand of every human heart, young and old. "It is the infant crying in the night, the infant crying for the light."

When we provide for the full life of the child we will not have to make so many laws for compulsory education or against child labor.

CHILD LABOR AND THE NATION

By Hon. Albert J. Beveridge,

United States Senator from Indiana.

The purpose of this republic is to make a better type of manhood and womanhood. The reason for free institutions is that they develop nobler human characters than any other institutions develop. The meaning of a democratic form of government is to make people happier and better, and to make life more worth the living. The glory of this Nation is not in the exhaustless fertility of our far flung valleys and plains; not in the amazing wealth of our mines of coal, and iron, and copper and gold; not in our tremendous aggregation of riches; not in our vast network of railways; not in our astounding commerce and trade.

All these are splendid; but these are not the chief sources of our pride. No, the supreme glory of the American people is a pure, clean, independent citizenship—a type of manhood and womanhood, sound of body, clear of mind, stout of heart, aspiring of soul. And to become such a human being as that is the absolute right of every boy and girl under our flag, and any system which prevents any American boy or girl from realizing that ideal is a crime against humanity and treason against liberty itself.

And yet, such a system is in operation this very night. This very night this crime against humanity and free institutions is being committed. As I speak to you, thousands and thousands of little children are at work in cotton mills, in glass factories, in the sweat shop, and, every day, on the breakers of the mines. Their bones are not yet hardened, their muscles still are water, their brains are still the brains of infants. They are in that period which should be the period of the first beginning of their growth, the period when the whole foundation of their life's development should be laid.

And yet, the very materials for that foundation are being forever shattered. Their normal growth is being stopped, their bones

made crooked, their backs bent with the stoop of age, their minds stunted, their characters malformed. Weak nerved, vicious souled, they are being made degenerate by a system of greed, as foolish as it is wicked. For a child to work upon the farm is a good thing if he is not forced to labor beyond his strength. I would even go so far, although many might object to it, as to say, as our honorable President once put it—advocate the teaching of children to work properly as a part of their education. But the child labor which I denounce is the child destroying labor of the factory, the sweat shop and the mines.

This maiming of the bodies of the American children goes forward. This murder of infant characters and souls is being committed, this perversion of citizenship is being done to-night; and in committing their offense against God and man, an even greater crime is committed against free institutions themselves. For child labor is daily pouring into the mass of American citizenship streams of social and political poison which will be fell for ill in this Republic as the decades pass. As these children reach what should be the conditions of maturity, if they have not already been put in their graves, they become unthinking enemies of society—irreclaimable enemies, because the injury that has been done to them can never be undone, nor this cost repaid. When they grow up and compare themselves with other young men and women, they clearly see, and even more keenly feel, that they are inferior—inferior in body, inferior in mind, inferior in soul, not inferior naturally, but made inferior by the slavery of their infancy. They feel that they have been robbed, not robbed of money, not robbed of property; but robbed of intellect, health, character, of life itself. And so they become, all over the land, living engines of wrath against human society itself. When the lords of gold tremble for the safety of their widespread investments, let them remember that child labor is daily creating an element in this republic more dangerous to their physical property itself than ever was packed in dynamiters' bombs.

This danger is not only manifested in incendiary fires, and all the manifestations with which we are so familiar, but it will soon manifest itself in votes to the destruction of the very purposes and reason for which this government of free and equal men was founded.

I think I understand personally exactly how these young men

and women who, as Dr. Adler said, had been exhausted in their youth, feel when they attain manhood. I myself began physical labor earlier than twelve, hard labor—too hard for any child of eighteen or nineteen. But after all, that was in the open air, in the field, beautiful with the waving banners of the corn, and fragrant with the smells of the brown earth, upturned by the ploughshare; it was on the grades of railways with great, gross, rough, but vital and kindly men about me, it was in the logging camps, with the majesty of the woods about me. It was bitter work; it was too heavy for any child, but, after all, over me by day always was the marvelous blue of God's splendid dome or the glory of his clouds, or over me by night the eternal stars kept their sentinel watch and always there was the pure and unpolluted atmosphere to breathe, and through it all, now and then, was the uplifting influence of religion, and finally a college, and then all those influences of the true and the beautiful and the good in life.

And yet, in spite of all that, I do not like to think of the years from twelve to nineteen, because it makes me bitter. But suppose my work had not been in the open air? Suppose it had been in the cotton mills of Georgia, or the sweat shops of New York, or the glass factories of West Virginia, or on the breakers of the mines of Pennsylvania? Suppose I had been forced to breathe the poison and had acquired the low vices and habits which always result from such physical and nervous degeneracy. Even if, as it is, a senseless and unreasoning resentment begins to burn in my breast, what would have been my condition of mind if I had lived the life that the child slaves of America are living to-night?

Our papers contain much resentment if one anarchist is found among our European immigrants. Yet, we are at work creating the same sort. And this not the worst; for these young men and young women, who as children are overworked, through their veins running the poison of an unthinking hatred, become the fathers and mothers of degenerate children. These go to work at the same system that made their parents incapable of having perfect children, made them the ancestors of a race of degenerates. These are the facts. This is the truth, and I say to you to-night, as I have been saying all over this country for the last three months, that this making of possible anarchists and degenerates in America has got to be stopped.

We cannot leave it to the states to stop it. They cannot stop it if they would, and they would not stop it if they could. In the states, for example, where this social disease is most violent, the great manufacturing and mining interests are so powerful that they prevent the passage of any thorough or effective state law, or they do what is a great deal worse, secure the passage of a mutilated law, leading the people to think that their legislature has done all they could, and still the evil goes on. And often, in these states, when a good law is passed, these same interests remain still so powerful with the Executive Department that the law is not executed, and the evil goes on. Even if one state or a dozen states were to pass excellent laws and thoroughly enforce them, not much would be accomplished, because the evil would exist in other states, and still go on. And even if in one, or a dozen states, good laws were still executed, the business man in the good state would be at a disadvantage to the business man in the bad state, because the latter could employ cheap child labor, and the business man in the good state could not employ cheap child labor. And so, by this system of trying to end a national evil by segregated legislation, the very quality of the American citizen is destroyed.

Here, I think, is the generalization which decides what the state should do and what the Nation must do. It is this, when an evil is a national evil, it must be cured by a national remedy. Where the evil is purely local—where it is confined to one state and no other—that state might possibly be left to cure it. For example, if child labor existed in no place in the United States except in Ohio, then we might, perhaps, consider the question of leaving to Ohio herself the curing of this evil. But if child labor is scattered all over the land, if some states are clear of it, and others are foul with it, then it becomes a subject for the combined intelligence and massed morality of American people to handle. And even if every state in the Union but two or three were to remedy the evil effectually, still those two or three states would be pouring streams of bad citizens into the whole Nation, and the whole Nation would be affected by them, because every citizen is a citizen, not of one state only, but the Nation as a whole.

And so we see clearly that this matter cannot be left to the states to handle, first, because they cannot act uniformly, and do not—*never have on any subject*, not on any subject. Second, they

cannot act effectively, even if they were so disposed. Third, where one state acts well, and another state acts ill, the business man in the latter state has the advantage of the business man in the former state. And finally, if there is only one state where the infamous practice is carried on, it is still daily pouring pollution into the whole body of American citizenship.

I have heard it said the past week in conversation on the floor of the senate—it is something I am rather familiar with, after seven years down there—"Let us not be in a hurry about this thing." Let us be in a hurry to pass a currency bill, and in a hurry pass something of that kind, but let the children go. They say, "Well, after a while, in time, the states will all have a uniform law, uniformly executed, by uniformly good, safe and honest governors." Well, if such an impossible day should ever come, we know that it would be a generation from now; and in the meantime, the murder of hundreds of thousands of American children would go on; in the meantime, the character and souls of hundreds of thousands of American children would be ruined; in the meantime, other hundreds of thousands of American children would be forever degenerate—made into engines of wrath, and the parents of still other hundreds of thousands engines of wrath.

Shall this infamy go on? Shall this undermining of the very foundations of free institutions be permitted just to please some well-meaning theorists on the one hand, and some selfish demagogues and millionaires already over-rich with unrighteous wealth on the other hand? Shall the slaughter of the innocents and recruiting of this swelling army of degenerates continue while we endlessly debate, in Congress and elsewhere, the wisdom of curing a national infamy by a national law?

Why, what is this Republic for? What are free institutions for? Why did we ever establish this Nation of liberty? What does the flag mean? What do all these things mean, if they do not mean the making of a splendid race of clean, strong, happy, noble, exalted charactered men and women. The life of one American child, the making of one American citizen is worth one hundred years of academic discussion about the danger of the American people curing national evils through national government.

We hear it said that we are going too far in the curing of national evils by national laws. But isn't the contrary true? Have

we not been straining the other theory in preventing and delaying the nation from remedying the evils of the nation? Why should the barrier of the states be interposed in the national reform of the national evil of child labor? To be sure, that same barrier was raised against the meat inspection bill, but the aroused conscience of the American people swept it away. To be sure, it was raised against the pure food bill, but the American people said that the health and lives of themselves, their wives and their children were more important than some theory which did not affect them.

Last session we passed unanimously the national quarantine law. Its purpose was to protect the ports of our Gulf states, and our Pacific states, from yellow fever and bubonic plague. It was an absolute, unqualified and admitted denial of the rights of those states. For one hundred years each one of them had had its own quarantine laws. And yet, from the very beginning, the practical human folly of it was seen, because if yellow fever is kept out of the ports of one state and let in through the ports of another state, it affects the people of both states and the whole republic, for yellow fever is no respecter of state lines. Yellow fever crosses the boundaries of states without stopping, just as the telegraph and the railroad, and our agencies of good cross state lines without stopping. Very well, if the theory of state rights was yielded by the states that most insisted upon them in order to pass the quarantine law designed to prevent yellow fever which kills possibly twenty people in twenty years, cannot it also yield to the national child labor law to stop that crime which kills and ruins hundreds of thousands of American children every year?

At the great meeting of the Young Men's Christian Association for Western Ohio and Eastern Indiana, held at Richmond, Indiana, a few weeks ago, I formally gave notice that at the beginning of the present session, I would introduce a bill which would cut the heart out of this evil from ocean to ocean, and that, having introduced it, I would fight this session and the next session, and every other session so long as I was in public life until it was passed. I say to you to-night that I have redeemed that pledge. I have introduced that bill, and I repeat to you that I shall fight for it this session as I fought for the meat inspection and pure food bills last session, and will fight the next session, and the session after, if its enemies can for so long delay it, until it shall be passed.

It is a very simple bill, a very brief bill. It provides that the carriers of interstate commerce, the railroads and the steamboat lines, shall not transport the products of any factory or mine that employs or permits the labor of children under fourteen years of age. It provides for any officer of a factory or mine, who violates that act, the punishment of a money fine and a sentence in the penitentiary.

I spoke about the difference between this and the meat bill, and I will confess that I drew them on different theories. I will try to make it clear to you why, although it is a complicated legal question. As a matter of fact, the constitution, which was made for the people and not for the lawyers, is a very simple instrument. And upon that point I wish to say that the American people were not made for the constitution; the constitution was made for the American people. It is our servant; we are not its servants. The difference between the meat inspection bill and this bill is just this, the meat bill goes directly to the evil and says to the packing houses in Illinois, "If your products are intended for interstate commerce, if you are preparing them to ship into another state, that is enough, railroad or no railroad, you must submit to the inspection of these products and the sanitation of these factories by the agents of the American people's national government."

I at first thought of drawing this bill on these lines, and saying, "Be it enacted, that no factory or mine whose products are intended for interstate commerce shall employ children under fourteen years of age," and then providing a fine and penalty. I did not do it, I will frankly say here, in confidence among ourselves—there are only about four thousand of us here and I am sure what I say will not get out—for tactical reasons: first, because it takes hard work to get any of these bills through—we never would have gotten the meat inspection bill through in the world but for that mighty storm of wrath which the revealed facts aroused from ocean to ocean, from Mexico to the Dominion, and even as it was, they pulled nearly all the teeth out of the bill—we got all back but two—and we almost gained those two when we finally passed the bill. I did not follow the strict analogy of the meat bill in the child labor bill, first, because a plausible though not valid constitutional argument could be made against such a bill as that. Second, because I feared that the great factory interests of the south, New Jersey and of Maine, the great

mining interests everywhere, would all combine together and join the great packing interests, and they would not only defeat this bill, but possibly overthrow the meat bill, too.

It will be a hard struggle with the individual interests alone, and I do not particularly care to tackle them in combination with all the other trusts there are in the country at the same time.

The other day in the senate somebody said, "I wonder"—and then looked very profound—"whether the men who drew the interstate commerce clause of the American Constitution ever contemplated any such thing as we are doing?" Why certainly they did not. Read the debates on the interstate commerce clause in the national convention, one hundred and twenty-five years after they were made. I remember Mr. Pinckney, one of the ablest men, said, in discussing this clause, "The interstate commerce clause was designed so that one state would not override the other." He said, "The interests of New England are and always will be rum and fish." He said, "The interests of the Southern states are and always will be cotton and indigo; the great agricultural centers of the country are and always will be New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and New York is the only one that is a manufacturing center that will be affected by free trade." It was under such debates as that that the interstate commerce clause of the American Constitution was formed. But I have always believed that every one of the saving clauses in that instrument, just as I believed that everything else that has occurred in American history was directed from above. And when I have thought about that interstate commerce clause—how it enables the people, who are one people with one flag, to deal with each other, I have felt how true were the words of Emerson in that immortal poem, "The Problem," and how true it was when applied to the interstate commerce clause:

> The hand that rounded Peter's dome,
> That crowns the hills of Christian Rome,
> Wrought in a sad sincerity;
> Himself from God he could not free,
> He builded better than he knew.

So this bill, which proposed in a national way to stop this national evil, is so drawn that its entire constitutionality is freely admitted by its foes. It is so simple and effective that both its

friends and enemies alike concede that it will stop the evil in every great factory and mine throughout the entire republic. It is resisted upon the following grounds: First, that perhaps, as a matter of policy, we are going a little too fast and too far in the expansion of national power to the curing of national evils. Second, it is said that the evils of child labor are greatly overdrawn, and as one member of the house the other day said, "This is, after all, only a storm blown up by some of those reformers;" and, third, it is a mighty good thing for the child to have it work.

Now these are the three arguments that are made against this bill. These are the points you will see discussed in the newspapers. These are what you will see in the reports of the debates in Congress. In Washington all the public men are for every reform of every evil—"if it exists," they say. They want to be sure that it "exists," you know.

Many of the worst enemies of reform are apparently *for* it, but *earnestly against any effective method of handling it.* One of the most effective ways of defeating any great reform measure is for its enemies to divide the real friends of the reform into different groups, each earnestly contending as to which is the best of several different methods of curing the evil. It was the favorite tactics of the great Napoleon on the battlefield to so maneuver as to get the armies of the enemy separated into smaller armies, and then subsequently attacking them and defeating them successively. But the legislative Napoleons do better than that. They not only get the real friends of the reform divided into little groups, each sincerely attached to a different method of effecting the reform, but they so maneuver as to get these groups of real friends of the reform *contending among each other*, wasting time, and energy, and strength, instead of uniting for a common cause against a common enemy and achieving a common triumph. And wherever the enemies of a reform have got its friends in that condition their victory is assured.

My friends, the time has come when we have got to get right down to earnest business in this great cause. We have got to appeal to the intelligence, the hearts, the morality of the American people. We have got to arouse and marshal public opinion upon this measure, and when you make such an appeal to the American people they will not fail us, for they never have failed to respond to such

an appeal. And when the American people make their will known to Congress, Congress will act.

There is just one thing that will unfailingly move the American senate, and that is the concentrated and crystallized will of the American people spoken in terms that will not be denied. Oh! these American people—that they shall be increasingly the mightiest power for righteousness and human helpfulness in this world, is the passion of my life. Let us all do what we can to help make them so. We glory in the men of Concord and Valley Forge, and we justly glory in them. Let us then be worthy of their deeds and their memories, and cast from our Nation the body of this death to which it is bound. Only so shall our flag be unsullied; only so shall we indeed be "a people whose god is the Lord;" and only so shall this "government of the people, for the people and by the people" not perish from the earth.

THE DIFFICULTIES OF A FACTORY INSPECTOR

By Hon. Edgar T. Davies,

Chief Factory Inspector of Illinois.

Officials who are charged with the enforcement of laws, and have tried to do their full duty, are naturally very jealous of their official reputation. I personally am also sincerely interested in this proposition, that if by inadvertence a false understanding should go out through this country, that the Illinois glass manufacturers are not obeying the law, then the glass companies who in other states are opposing restrictive measures in any additional legislation which is being asked for by various organizations interested in child saving, will say to the advocates of such measures, "See here, the glass companies of Illinois do not obey the child labor law of Illinois." I understand that such has been the protest of the glass companies in Ohio, in Pennsylvania and in Indiana, when additional or restrictive legislation has been under consideration by the various general assemblies of those states.

The statement that the Illinois glass companies are obeying the law is a statement of fact, and that the argument might not be lost, let us see why it is a statement of fact.

We have with us to-day Mrs. Van der Vaart, who was the preceding speaker, and who in her remarks said that she had recently investigated the glass companies located at East St. Louis and Alton, Illinois, and as a result of her visit to these two localities, she makes the broad statement that the child labor law is not being enforced against the glass companies in Illinois. We have many glass companies in Illinois, scattered throughout the entire state, and a statement so broad as the one made by the preceding speaker should certainly have been based upon a visit to each of the glass companies within the state.

A statement that the glass companies of the state are not obeying the law reflects not only on the two localities visited by the

speaker, but also on the other glass companies located within the state; and it is manifestly unfair to say that these other companies are not obeying the law without first having visited their plants, to see if they were complying with the law or no. If they are, then give them credit; do not say they are not complying unless you have evidence to substantiate such a broad statement.

I am pleased to note that we also have with us to-day Mrs. Florence Kelley, my predecessor. Now, then, let us try to arrive at the right conclusion. When Mrs. Kelley was chief inspector of Illinois the glass companies were in business. She had full authority to prosecute and convict. In her book, "Some Ethical Gains Through Legislation," she says that she found there were eight hundred children employed by the glass companies located at Alton; many of the children being of very small stature and quite young in years. Upon taking office I found no record of a conviction of a glass company in the state. I make no reflection upon Mrs. Kelley's administration; I know her to be a woman who was sincerely interested in her work, a competent official who accomplished grand results. I do not speak disparagingly of her efforts, because I know what it is to go up against these strong combinations, extensive employers of labor. I only wish I had been able to help her in her work.

I speak of this because of the great difficulties encountered by the official in the securing of convictions of the glass companies who violate the law. During my administration, as chief inspector, I have secured the conviction of every glass company in the state, from Galena to Cairo; and had prosecuted and convicted the Illinois Glass Company only the day before Mrs. Van der Vaart's visit to Alton. Our inspectors had gone to Edwardsville, the county seat of Madison County, to prosecute the company; they believed they could there secure a trial along less partial lines than in Alton, the town in which the glass company in question is located. I have the court records of that trial in my hand now; $620 is the penalty imposed upon them for not complying with the child labor law. And this conviction, if you please, in the face of the fact that the Alton Glass Company is not only evasive, but constantly on the lookout. The whole town seems to be with them. The truant officer seems to be in sympathy with them; the school census was taken in the spring and the superintendent of schools never got it until many months

afterward, when it was valueless, because it had been held up by the City Council.

It is reported that if you, a stranger, walk into the town and should resemble an inspector, the glass companies know it. Should an inspector pass a saloon or any of the stores, some one telephones; if you stop at the hotel the glass companies' officials know you are there. This glass company's plant covers many acres; it is claimed to be the largest glass company in the world; they have a complete telephone system. This great piece of territory is all fenced in with a huge fence surmounted with barbed wire; two gates for the inspector to get in and lots of holes for the kids to get out. It was only recently in an address delivered by me, I stated that laws do not enforce themselves. I dwelt upon the fact that machinery cannot run without coal; that it required fuel, oil and water, and that if the legislature failed to appropriate sufficient money for the proper enforcement of the laws, do not blame the official.

We have in our department the munificent sum of ten thousand dollars, to pay, outside of salaries, all railroad expenses, hotel bills, telephone bills, printing bills, office expenses, stenographers, clerk hire and incidentals—ten thousand dollars to cover a territory embracing three hundred and fifty-two towns. It is a shame. There have been held to account influential gentlemen of the appropriations committee of the senate and the house for their failure to appropriate the necessary money. Members of the legislature are as a rule proud of their record made in the legislature. At least, when they are running for re-election, they come and tell you of the great and good bills they voted for; they voted for this reform and that reform, and therefore are always very happy to have their legislative record shown. The people should know, and I take the liberty of stating to you, that when I asked for an appropriation to cover a deficiency, when we did not have a dollar left in the department, and three months to run, a certain member of the appropriations committee told a member from my own district, who was working in behalf of the allowance of the requested appropriation being made, "No, I think we will leave Davies; he fined a friend of my friend $160 for violating the law.'

It is to be regretted that men who have been elected to office, and who have in their power the authority to grant or refuse to grant adequate appropriations—most necessary money—should refuse, and

have as their only excuse for refusal, the fact that an official charged with enforcing the law had done his duty.

Do you people know or realize what it means to go up against the glass companies of Illinois? Do you realize what it is to have millions of dollars invested in glass companies in the state, and to have to go up against the combined forces controlled by them? There is not a glass company in the State of Illinois, not one of them, that I have not convicted.

Eight hundred children, by my predecessor's book, were employed by the Alton Glass Company in 1893. Let us take the record now. As we must always be fair to employers as well as being fair to employees, I cannot protest, and I cannot protest too strongly, against people who make the statement that children are under age, without first obtaining proof that the children are under age; because you cannot go on your own judgment.

I have been an inspector and head of a department for almost six years, and thousands of these children have passed through my office. I have carefully noted in a scientific way every fact. The usual difference between an American boy and a Polish boy of fourteen years of age is fifteen pounds. I have in my office the correct scientific figures. There is two and one-half to three inches usual difference between the height of a Bohemian boy and an American boy of fourteen years of age. These statistics are garnered through the system in vogue in our office, where we have measured and weighed 51,000 children. You must take into consideration the fact that the working children are dressed poorly, are wearing last year's undersized garments, and they look smaller than your children who are dressed in up-to-date garments. These and other facts must always be taken into consideration.

We have said to employers, "We demand that you have a school certificate," and therefore it is no more than our duty as inspectors to see that they have, but if they have we should say to the employer, "This school certificate will protect you if you live within the provisions of the law." We must protect the employer somewhere, and the person to be prosecuted is not the employer for having a false certificate, but the school official who issued the false certificate, or the person who falsified in obtaining the certificate. Put the responsibility where it belongs.

When I went into service in Illinois, as chief factory inspector,

the first year of my administration the Illinois Glass Company had three hundred and seventy-seven children employed many of whom were under fourteen years of age, and there were many hundreds of children employed in the glass companies throughout the state. Is the Illinois child labor law enforced in the glass companies of Illinois? Let us see. What is the condition to-day:

Instead of three hundred and seventy-seven children employed by the Illinois Glass Company, many of whom were under fourteen, there are now eighty children employed; all holding certificates showing them to be between fourteen and sixteen years of age; there may be some on false certificates who are under fourteen.

The glass companies located at Streator I found upon taking office had two hundred and fifty-seven children employed; they now have twenty-three. Obear-Nestor Glass Company had ninety-two children employed; they now have thirty-two; and so on down through the line of glass companies. The company at Alton have one-fifth of the child employees they had when I took office. The company at Streator have now only one-eleventh of the child employees they formerly had, during the year previous to my administration.

I want to say that these thirty-two indictments referred to by Mrs. Van der Vaart, that were never brought to trial, were not in Illinois. The notary public affidavits referred to by her as being two years old were in Indiana, not in Illinois.

Mr. Joseph Nestor, manager of the glass company at East St. Louis, whom I personally know, and whose establishment was referred to indirectly by Mrs. Van der Vaart in her reference to the company located at East St. Louis, is a man who would never tell you aught but the truth. When our inspectors, in talking with Mr. Nestor, ask him if he has been obeying or violating the law since they have been gone, he will give them a truthful answer.

Although we have indicted Mr. Nestor on thirty-eight counts, and have several times prosecuted him for violations of the child labor law found in his establishments, we have never found him guilty of telling a lie regarding conditions in his plant. His plant was formerly a violator of the law, but during the past year we have found no flagrant violations there. He is honestly endeavoring to have his establishment strictly comply with the law at the present time, and has endeavored to do so for a long while. He tried to

defeat the passage of the child labor law when it was being considered by the legislature; he appeared in Springfield in the open and tried to prevent the measure being placed upon the statute books, because he did not want its restrictive provisions to apply to his business.

I have had some experience in child labor legislation; I enforced the old law of Illinois; was chairman of the committee which drafted the present law. A brother of mine, who was a member of the general assembly, introduced the law in the legislature, and now, as the proper statutory official, I hold the obligation of its enforcement. I refer to this, to make clear my interest, as well as my responsibility, in the work.

During the years of my administration I have secured convictions in over six thousand cases of violation; and I wish I could say about all other employers of child labor what I have spoken in regard to Mr. Joseph Nestor. I speak of him, because I believe in giving an employer of labor, who was frank enough to fight the passage of the law in the open, credit for obeying that law after it was placed upon the statute books.

Let us take up the proposition or provision which prohibits night work. Somebody told me to-day that the Board of Health of the City of New York has charge of the enforcement of the child labor laws of New York, in their application to the mercantile establishments, etc. While the board of health means a whole lot, the obligation of the enforcement should be placed in the hands of an individual; the trouble with departments of health or boards or commissions is that, in cases of complaint, the complaint is referred to somebody; somebody else says, "See what is the matter, here is a complaint; why don't you investigate it?" It is referred to someone else for investigation. What is the outcome of the complaint? Usually it is not investigated, and if it is the complainant does not know it.

In Chicago we have the largest department stores in the country outside of New York City. We had in the fall of 1902 fourteen hundred children in the department stores; when, in December, 1903, it was necessary to send the children home at seven o'clock; the department stores were to be open during the evening; I was called upon, it seems, by all persons they could muster together and asked to let the enforcement of the law go until they could get

in shape. They said, "How are we to get along after seven o'clock unless we have our cash boys and cash girls, our boys and girls to wrap our bundles?" "How are we going to run our business and keep our stores open?" "We cannot run our own cash or wrap our bundles."

It is the same all along the line in many other industries. I had to stand the pressure of the argument, the pressure political, and sometimes had to meet the argument of something else, which is considered by some a material one. But my answer is a matter of record. All the children went home, some fourteen hundred of them, marching out at seven o'clock.

I want to say that it is easy to criticise; it is easy to find fault with officials, but officials need the co-operation of charitable organizations and philanthropic bodies that will help the inspector, aid and assist him; stand back of him and say, "We are with you, go ahead and enforce the law." Because without this co-operation he has not that much-needed public support, which will encourage and help him in doing his duty. When he goes into a county he is confronted, not only by divided public sentiment, but by strong political opposition.

What you all need to do is to stand back of the inspectors and officials charged with enforcing laws and make them do their duty, and if they are derelict or remiss then dismiss them summarily. If they have done their duty, support them. Do not withhold your words of encouragement, because your aid and your assistance and your words of encouragement are his greatest source of support, and your word, "that his duty has been well done," his greatest hope of reward.

THE ENFORCEMENT OF CHILD LABOR LEGISLATION

By Starr Cadwallader, Esq.,

of Cleveland, Ohio.

I shall discuss the enforcement of the Ohio law only in so far as it applies to the work of girls under eighteen and boys under sixteen after seven o'clock in the evening in Cleveland.

Some two years ago the Consumers' League of Cleveland, just before the holiday shopping began, went through the retail district of the city and found, as in former years, that preparations were being made in various stores to do work after seven o'clock—partly in preparation for the trade of the next day, and partly for other purposes. The members of the league went to the factory inspectors of the district and asked for enforcement of that provision of the law. The factory inspectors of the district excused themselves on the ground that they were very busy inspecting the devices for the protection of machinery; and then, too, they were not ready to prosecute any one engaged in the retail business for violations of the child labor law. As a matter of fact, they stated at the time that they were not in favor of prosecution.

The members of the league then went to the City Solicitor, asking advice as to what could be done. The City Solicitor told them that if they were perfectly sure the law was being violated, and that at the same time employers were cognizant of the provisions of the law, he thought steps could be taken which might help. Although the members of the league had made investigations previously, they went about again to find out whether copies of the law were posted in the various stores, and also whether children were employed during the hours after seven o'clock. They found a copy of the law somewhere in every one of the stores. Sometimes it had fallen behind a desk. Sometimes it was posted in a room on the top floor, where, perhaps, it had not been seen by anybody for weeks; but they found it, and they found in every case that the

employers were familiar with the law. They also found that children were employed. They found children under school age, as well as children under sixteen and under eighteen, employed in the evening. A member who made inquiries in one clothing store on Euclid avenue had a rather humorous experience. There were double doors, opening one to the right, one to the left. At either door was a small colored boy. They were very beautifully dressed in purple uniform, with brass buttons down the front. They wore caps with tassels, and white gloves. After the usual inquiries had been made, the member of the league pointed to the two boys and asked, "What about those boys? Are they not under age?" The manager of the store held up his hands and said, "Good God, Madam! Don't take those boys away from us! We have just bought those uniforms, and they were made to order." In another store on Euclid avenue the proprietor calmly said that they employed children under age, and that he intended to do so whenever they were needed. When it was stated that they would be reported to the inspector, he was very little concerned about that. Returning to the City Solicitor with the information which he had asked, they were told that an order would be issued to the Chief of Police calling his attention to the law, and also saying that the officers should see that the law was enforced. A printed copy of this letter, together with a printed copy of the law, was distributed by the police on the various beats, and in the course of a few days a delegation arrived at the City Solicitor's office. The delegation was headed by an attorney, who, on entering, said, "We have come, Mr. Baker, to talk over the enforcement of the child labor law. Of course, we recognize that it was the thing for you to call attention to it just at this time—very proper. It was your duty; but we have come to talk it over with you." Then various members of the delegation told the City Solicitor how absolutely impossible it would be to do business if the child labor law were enforced; that it was absolutely necessary to employ boys under sixteen and girls under eighteen after seven o'clock in the evening, especially during the holiday season; that otherwise trade could not go on. After they had talked all around they arose and were bowing themselves out, saying that they were glad to have had the interview. Now they were quite sure everybody understood the situation. The City Solicitor then said that he would regret very much if any of them

went away under a misapprehension. The letter sent to the Chief of Police was not sent because it was the holiday season, or because it was the fitting thing to do, or for any other reason than that it meant just what it said. He added that in so far as he was concerned he intended that the Chief of Police should see that this law was enforced during the holiday season as well as at other times. The result was that several hundred children were discharged the first year, and older boys and girls, or men and women, took their places.

The State Factory Inspector was at first inclined to look upon this action by the City Solicitor as interference with his prerogatives. He came up to Cleveland to say so. After two years—it was two years ago that this order was first issued to the police—the situation is something like this: The factory inspectors for the district—one of them has been changed—are enforcing the law and prosecuting cases of violation. There is co-operation between them and the school authorities and other people who are interested in the enforcement of the child labor law.

This year, before the Christmas holidays, advertisements for boys and girls were put in this form, "Boys over sixteen and girls over eighteen wanted." The effect of all this has been wider than that, however, upon the retail stores. The laundries are now making it a rule not to employ any girl under eighteen in a position where night work is possibly required. I say "possibly required." Night work in most of the laundries is not required all the time, but only on certain days of the week and in certain parts of the laundry. The telephone companies have also just decided to employ no girls on their night shifts who are under eighteen years of age. These changes are due, in part at least, to a growing public sentiment in favor of the enforcement of the law. For five years in Cleveland something has been done to create opinion in favor of the enforcement of the law, and to-day the situation is very different from that in 1901.

THE ATTITUDE OF SOCIETY TOWARD THE CHILD AS AN INDEX OF CIVILIZATION[1]

By Felix Adler, Ph.D.,

Chairman of the National Child Labor Committee.

It seems at first almost incredible that the attitude of society toward the child should ever have been otherwise than tender and considerate. It is almost past belief that in a country and civilization as advanced as ours, as proud of its humanity, as hospitable toward all good causes, it should be necessary for the members of the National Child Labor Committee to convene in order to pray the American people to hold their protecting hand over the future citizens of this republic and to pray enlightened men and women to brush aside the web of sophistry with which the practice of exploiting the young child has been defended.

I shall detain you for a little while before we approach the practical question which is before us to ask your attention to a brief historical retrospect.

We find to our amazement that far down in primitive ages, not universally, but very widely, there existed cruel and inhuman practices with respect to children. Even the higher animals are attached to their offspring. Even the lioness defends her cubs; but it seems that the most advanced and most enlightened of nature's offspring, man, he who ascends the greatest heights, is also capable of descending to depths beneath those even of the higher brutes.

The explanation, perhaps, is partly to be found in the extreme destitution and poverty of those early ancestors of ours; partly in the evil influence of crass and fantastic superstition. We find that infanticide was widespread. Seneca boasted that exposure of children prevailed among the Romans. Children were sometimes sold into slavery. Among certain tribes a child was killed if it was born

[1]A résumé and partial report of Dr. Adler's opening address at the Third Annual Meeting of the National Child Labor Committee, held in Music Hall, Cincinnati, Ohio, December 13, 1906.

in stormy weather because this was considered an ill omen. If the child cut its upper front teeth before it cut its lower front teeth it would be killed because this was an ill omen. Deformed children would often be killed, not because they were deformed, but because they were uncanny. Mr. Westermarck in his book, "The Origin and Development of Moral Ideas," gives many examples of this sort. In some places it was customary for the mother to have the privilege of the first life, the first infant; and after that it was at the option of the father whether the child should live or not. In other cases, the mother had the right to the first three lives. After that she was compelled to bury alive her offspring. Cruel, strange, fantastic aberrations!

But they were exceptional. On the whole, we may say that wherever extreme poverty, wherever a certain frenzy or mania did not obsess the human mind, the human parent was kinder to his offspring than the animal. Indeed, the long period of infancy and parental care is regarded by many as the origin of man's higher civilization, as a means of developing the unselfish instincts by which this civilization is graced. Human parents have loved their human children and cared for them. Natural parental love has been disturbed, however, at times all along the line of human development, and is still disturbed to-day by excessive poverty and by frenzies. This modern greed of wealth-getting is also a frenzy. We cannot regard it otherwise than in the nature of a superstition, and of an obsession from which the American people to-day is rudely awakening, seeing itself on the brink of an abyss.

Next to the development and occasional vagaries of parental feeling, there have been at different periods in human history idealistic values attached to children. These have varied in different epochs. What I mean is not the love value, the emotional prizing, but certain ideal values that have made children esteemed and cared for. I shall mention two of these, and then proceed to that which is characteristic of our own age, upon which I desire to dwell.

The first of these idealistic values, aside from natural affection, we find throughout antiquity, and it persists in large measure down to the present day. The child was regarded as that being upon which depended the continuance of the life of the parent in the hereafter. Consider what this meant, that a father or mother facing the future would realize that upon their child—upon their

son, especially, but also upon the daughter, would depend their own continuance. We are apt to think in these modern times that immortality is assured, considering it once gained, always owned. The ancient view was different. They regarded the tenure of the other life as precarious, and they believed that it depended on the child—on the fidelity of the child—to insure the continuance of life in another world. What a strange, fantastic idea it was! The picture is that of the disembodied spirit of the father looking back after death upon this earth and seeing his offspring, who, by their fidelity or infidelity to his memory, decided the spiritual preservation of him who gave them being. Men believed that unless the funereal rites were properly performed the spirit would be compelled to haunt the place where the body lay and would find no rest. Priam prostrating himself at the feet of Achilles, kissing the hands that slew his son; Antigone sacrificing her life for the privilege of sprinkling sand on her brother's body, without which the poor ghost could not rest, are instances in point. Then, too, there was brought to the tomb, at stated times, food and drink, upon which the life of the deceased person depended. The same thought in a higher form is also found in the Jewish world and in the Christian world, where it is believed, popularly, at least, that if not the preservation, yet the well-being of ancestors in the future life depends upon the fidelity with which the sons repeat the mourner's prayer or the priest performs mass for the repose of the deceased. Now this was one idealistic thought value attaching to the child. A parent would look upon his child in the light of a preserver of his spiritual existence when he should have left this earth.

A second idealistic value attaching to the child is more conspicuous in those states of society in which society is divided into hard and fast classes; as, for instance, during the feudal period in Europe. The child, especially the eldest son, is regarded as the preserver, not so much of the life of his parent, as of something impersonal, for which the succession of generations stands—the family, the family name, the family title, the family property, the family rank. The advent of a son is hailed with joy because upon him depends the perpetuation of this impersonal thing of which the different generations are the vehicles.

I shall not attempt to follow my historical retrospect in detail, not wishing to wander too far from the practical question which we

have before us. This background, however, may serve as a means of throwing into greater contrast the third idealistic value which attaches to the child to-day concerning which we are not always aware how modern it is. For upon us has dawned the conception of an evolution, and in the light of that we feel about the child, and speculate about it, and do for it, and dream about it, in a way quite unknown to our forebears. The child to us is no longer chiefly the preserver of something that has been, either of the parental life or of the family name; but it is the promise of something that is to be. The idealistic value we attach to the child is that we see in it the possibility of something finer, something better, something greater on this earth than has yet been. The idealistic view of the past was backward-looking; ours is forward-looking, and especially is this true of us in America. We are a people of hope; we are pre-eminently priests of the future. It is the greatest mistake to suppose that our American democracy, or the American nation, is complete. It is only in the beginnings, in the making. What gives our country greatness is the great men whom we have already produced and whom we honor. But those great men are only the first harbingers of a greatness which no human eye can fairly trace and no human tongue can fully describe, which rises before us a divine vision and a dream. This American democracy exists for a purpose. For what purpose? To create an environment in which the liberty of each shall consist with the liberty of all. Is that our highest and best work—to create a government in which every one shall be well fed, and every one well clothed? Is this our dream? Or does not our American democracy rather mean for us the development of a new type of civilization, of entirely new conceptions of life, of new contributions to art and to science, and to social living?

And now we have reached the point where we can pass on and speak of practical matters. One of the ancient superstitions of which I spoke is that if you wish to build a great edifice, or bridge, or city wall, or anything that shall stand, you must sacrifice a child's life, take a child's blood and paint it on the foundation stone, or bury the child under the foundations. As late as only a few years ago, on the authority of Baring-Gould, there was found in a breach cut in the city walls of Bremen when they were demolished, embedded in the foundation, the skeleton of a child. That was a cruel superstition of the past. That must not be repeated by us. We must

not attempt to build up the civilization of America on the prostrate form of American children. We must not return to those ancient barbarisms. We must not allow this new frenzy, this obsession, this mania of money making at any cost, to lead us into similar frightful aberrations.

Now the argument which has been chiefly emphasized in this child labor movement, is that we must not allow these hundreds of thousands of children to be sacrificed. No one can tell you how many there are—there is a dispute whether there are two hundred thousand or two millions, no one knows exactly, the statistics being quite imperfect, how many hundreds of thousands there are—but there are at least hundreds of thousands American children in this land who are exploited and prematurely exhausted by the burden of toil which is laid upon them.

The usual argument presented is that this premature toil exists and that physically and mentally and morally it lowers the standard of civilization. If we allow this thing to go on, it is said, the next generation, that has been maltreated in this fashion, that has been put to premature labor in cotton mills and in mines and in sweat shops, this next generation will become degenerate, and the standard of American civilization will be lowered. I admit the force of this argument. Like a tree that is made to bear too soon, so the child when made to labor too soon is exhausted. I have heard it said that for the child to go to work is good. Some strong, robust men who have worked on farms, perhaps worked their way up, have an idea that work is good for little children; but work on the farm is one thing, and work in a cotton mill, especially at night, and work in a sweat shop and work in a cigar shop, breathing the dust of tobacco in the little lungs, is quite a different matter. That does not make for health, that does not make for physical development. Brush aside then that sophistry. The child under fourteen that is set to work is physically stunted, is mentally crippled, and gets no chance at the time when his mind is plastic, to be in school. This child labor movement must be accompanied by a movement for compulsory education in every state. Morally the exploited child has no chance, partly because of his associations, partly because of the craving for drink which is often aroused in him by the excessive irritations and nervous exhaustion to which he is subjected, and partly because, as Senator Beveridge has told us on another occasion, the child when

treated unfairly in his youth, becomes anti-social in his instincts, hates the society that has deprived him of sunshine, and is fairly launched on a career of crime. Yes, it is the physical, mental and moral degeneration of hundreds of thousands of future fathers and mothers of this country to which we have got to put an end. If we continue to sanction premature child labor we not only degrade and lower the standard of citizenship, but we prevent that future growth, that development of American civilization, that new type of manhood which we must give to the world in order to contribute to the world's riches. We prevent the evolution of that type; we cut off that dream.

And now in closing let me ask: How shall we remedy this great evil? Shall we leave this matter in the hands of the states, or shall we call in the aid of the nation? Well, I am one of those conservative radicals who, by temperament, by prejudice and by predilection, cling to local self-government and dread the expansion of the federal power. I believe that, in the first place, the expansion of the federal power brings with it a certain enfeeblement of the responsibilities of the individual and of the states, and accustoms us to turn to the national government in matters which we ought to take care of ourselves, and encourages a paternalistic attitude. I believe that local governments are important, because our national representatives are often unacquainted with the conditions that prevail locally and are therefore unable to properly legislate for those conditions and those needs. I believe that local government is educative, inasmuch as it fits us to consider and wisely act upon the larger public questions that concern the nation.

For all these reasons I cling with every fiber of my being to state autonomy, as far as its limits can possibly be extended. And yet the question has got to be faced even by one as reluctant to face it as I am, whether the time has not now come when, despite the emphasis on state responsibility, it is necessary for us to ask for an exercise of national power and authority in order to draw back this nation from this precipice on the brink of which it stands, and cure it of this obsession, this frenzy to which it is subjected. When a part of the nation acts in such a way that the mischief of its action extends beyond its own borders, then the whole nation must intervene. When a part acts in such a way that even if the mischief does not technically and literally extend beyond its borders, yet the moral

turpitude of its action is an offense to the conscience of the whole people, then the whole people must intervene and put an end to that offense and that mischief, as in the case of slavery. And when the state authorities are powerless or insufficiently competent to deal with the evil, when the work of remedy is too slow in the most advanced states, then we are bound to ask what is it that enfeebles and palsies the hands of the state, of the commonwealth, and we are bound to ask whether, perhaps, despite our reluctance, the hand of the great mother of us all must not be called in to strengthen the incompetent and unsatisfying efforts of the several states. What is it then that prevents the abolition of child labor in the different commonwealths; what is it that prevents the satisfactory enforcement of child labor laws, after they have been put on the statute books. It is the power of those commercial and industrial interests that exploit the child which prevents the execution of the law and retards the enforcement of the law. It is those powerful interests—too powerful in many states—against whose unenlightened selfishness the law is directed that make the work of reformation so tardy in the most advanced states and so wholly unsatisfactory in the backward states. And what are the forces we have at our command to deal with those powerful interests in the several states. There is no other but public sentiment. Public sentiment is the only force that can avail to drive back those large, powerful interests. But in the several states public sentiment acts spasmodically, acts tentatively, goes to sleep and wakes up again, gathers force and loses force, and therefore the question arises whether to overcome these interests and evil forces it is not necessary that we should open the sluice gates and let the wave of national sentiment come in and sweep away the evils of unrighteousness in the several states, however strongly they may be entrenched.

There is an old, beautiful saying of a Greek dramatist, "The sea washes away all sins." Perhaps the time has come, and I expect to hear from others whether in their opinion it has come, that we must let in the sea of national patriotism to sweep away our economic sins.

Reports from State and Local Child Labor Committees and Consumers' Leagues

Made to the National Committee at the Third Annual Convention, Held in Cincinnati, December 13-15, 1906.

REPORT OF THE NEW YORK CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

Since the last annual meeting of the National Child Labor Committee, in December, 1905, the New York committee has been actively engaged in pursuing the work for which it was organized in 1902, namely: "To increase the efficiency of existing child labor laws by securing legislation in the form of amendments which may seem necessary; to assist the authorities in the enforcement of laws relating to compulsory education and child labor, and to educate public sentiment concerning the preventing of child labor."

The legislative work of the committee at the last session of the New York legislature was attended with considerable success, and a number of measures were passed which mark a real advance in child labor legislation. The most notable of these was the law bringing New York State practically into line with Illinois, Ohio and Massachusetts in the matter of evening work. Formerly children under sixteen were allowed to work in factories in our state as late as 9 o'clock at night, and in stores, messenger offices, restaurants, hotels and apartment houses until 10 o'clock. Since October 1, 1906, the closing hour has become 7 p. m. for all establishments, with the exception of places outside of New York and Buffalo, where the 10 o'clock provision regarding mercantile establishments remains unchanged. The enforcement of this new law will be watched with much interest, particularly in New York City, during the busy holiday season.

Through the vigorous protests of the committee and of its contributors and endorsers, a serious situation was averted last spring when the legislature early in the session not only failed to give the state department of labor a larger appropriation in order to increase the efficiency of this law-enforcing body, but reduced the appropriation $8,000 under that of the previous year. As a result of the agitation of the committee and of other interested organizations and friends the department finally received the increased appropriation sought after, and the appointment of twelve additional inspectors was made possible. Several other bills which would have had a tendency to weaken the child labor law were actively opposed by the committee and failed of passage.

It is with much pleasure that the committee is able to report a marked improvement in the adequacy of the enforcement of the laws with respect

to the employment of children in *factories*. The administration of Hon. P. Tecumseh Sherman, the head of the State Department of Labor, has been full of encouragement to the members of our committee. While not agreeing fully with all of the provisions of the law, he has shown a determination to conscientiously enforce the law in so far as he was able with the number of inspectors at the command of the department. The most notable advance made by this department has been in the matter of prosecutions of employers. For the year ending September 30, 1906, proceedings for violations of the law with respect to the employment of children were commenced against 121 employers, covering 192 instances of children illegally employed, and $810 in fines were collected. The report for the year ending September 30, 1904, of the preceding commissioner of labor, shows fifteen employers prosecuted for illegally employing twenty-one children, and $135 fines collected.

A great deal of attention of the committee has been centered upon efforts to secure through official channels a better enforcement of the compulsory education law. A careful study of the situation has shown that the ambiguity and complex wording of the present law are the most serious obstacles in the way of its proper enforcement. This is especially true in New York City with respect to attendance of children fourteen and fifteen years of age who are required to attend school unless regularly and lawfully at work. Our investigations have shown that the law breaks down seriously at this point, and it is therefore the desire of the committee to secure at the next session of the legislature some amendments which will meet this serious difficulty. Because of its great importance for compulsory attendance purposes, our committee for more than a year, together with other organizations, has been strongly urging an adequate school census of New York City. The taking of such a census every two years is required by a state law, but has been allowed to lapse since 1897. As a result of the agitation of the committee and other social organizations the State Department of Education instituted the taking of such a census throughout the state in October of this year. The committee has been closely associated with the school officials in New York City who have been responsible for the enumeration, and has assisted, by suggestion and in other ways, in the preparation of the census schedule. Although begun on October 23d, the canvass throughout the five boroughs of Greater New York is not yet completed. The tabulation of the data secured is under way, but it will take several months to fully compile the facts. It remains to be seen whether or not the children shown by the census unlawfully absent from school are promptly followed up and placed in school. Unless immediate attention is given to this part of the work, the census will be of very little practical value for compulsory attendance purposes, because of the large amount of shifting of families from one address to another in a city of the population of New York.

In our state the enforcement of the laws with respect to the employment of children in stores, messenger offices, restaurants, hotels, apartment houses, etc., is in the hands of local health boards. A study of enforcement of these provisions under these boards has shown that there is a distinct tendency

to subordinate this work to the sanitary duties of such health boards, much to the detriment of the enforcement of the child labor laws. If an adequate enforcement of the law by the present authorities cannot be secured, our committee will probably take steps to secure legislation transferring the responsibility to other authorities.

The condition of the street trades with respect to employment of children is as unsatisfactory as reported to this committee a year ago. The special squad of plain-clothes men assigned by the police department to the duty of enforcing the so-called newsboy law was transferred, in February last, to other duties, and the responsibility of enforcing the law was again put upon the regular uniformed police, with the result that the law is as much a dead letter as it was before the days of the special squad. As the members of our committee were not clear whether the fault for this condition was to be found in the law itself or in its administration, a paid investigator has been carefully studying the entire problem since July. It is hoped by the first of January to have a report upon this subject, and to be able then to reach some solution of the difficulty.

At the meeting of this committee a year ago Miss Lillian Wald, a member of the New York committee, spoke of the establishment of child labor scholarships by our committee. It will be recalled that these scholarships were created for the purpose of preventing hardship to a child laborer's family when the child's illegal earnings were really needed. An equally important object of these scholarships is to remove from the minds of officials who were charged with enforcing the law any fear of causing suffering to a family by requiring a full compliance with the law. This plan of substituting children's earnings where it was proved such earnings were genuinely needed, has now been in effect in New York City for nearly fifteen months. As the scheme has become better understood by school officials and others who refer applications for scholarships to our committee, there is a distinct tendency to bring to our attention more cases which are directly within the scope of the fund, and probably more instances of genuine poverty. Without going into details, it may be of interest to those present to know the general results of this work. For the year ending October 1, 1905—the first year of the plan—345 applications were received and investigated, either by the committee or at our request by representatives of the relief societies. Of this number 203, or 59 per cent, were deemed not to be in need of assistance. Of the remaining 142 cases, or 41 per cent, help in the form of scholarships was given in sixty-two instances, while in the other eighty cases, in many of which the need was only temporary, assistance was provided through the various relief societies. These scholarships vary in amount from $1 to $3 a week, and extend over a period of from three to thirteen months. The holders are required to present weekly at the office of the committee a card signed by the school principal certifying to their regular attendance at school. For the first year $2,500 was placed at the disposal of the committee for this work, and this amount was sufficient to meet all demands upon the funds. The large number of applications for

assistance from this fund which have been coming to the committee during the first quarter of the second year of this work indicates that from $1,000 to $2,000 additional will probably be necessary to meet the needs of this work for the second year. We are happy to announce that this additional money has been already promised, so that the continuance of the plan is assured. The committee is convinced of the practical value of this plan, not so much as a means of assisting worthy families, but for the purpose of disarming public criticism in regard to the poverty plea for child labor. Another very valuable result of this phase of our work is the moral and educational effect upon both children and officials that the law cannot be evaded. Much important data, otherwise unobtainable, regarding the way in which the laws are actually being enforced, has also been secured through the correspondence and visiting of our paid visitor for scholarship work.

A new line of investigation has recently been entered upon by our committee, namely, a study of the condition of children working in tenement homes. In conjunction with the College Settlement Association of New York City and the Consumers' League, a paid investigator is now giving all her time to this work, and is finding startling conditions among the child workers in the dark and badly ventilated tenements of our great city. It is hoped that in the near future some legislation may be secured to protect these children, who, if attending school, are not at present otherwise covered by the law.

For the coming year the committee has under consideration the following subjects for a legislative action; a prohibition against the employment of children under sixteen in the fourteen dangerous occupations specified in the Illinois law:

An eight-hour day for children; a transfer to the children's courts of jurisdiction over cases against employers for violating provisions of the labor law, and against parents for allowing children to remain unlawfully absent from school, and appointment of additional inspectors to strengthen the hands of the department of labor.

GEORGE HALL, *Secretary.*

New York, December 12, 1906.

REPORT OF THE MISSOURI CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE.

I. The comfortable conviction that Missouri has been and is relatively free from the evils of child labor has, I think, been rather widely cherished by good people in this state. The laws, though confessedly not models of their kind, at least prohibit the employment of children under fourteen in factories and mines; the industries which most tempt to violations of such laws—the textile and glass industries and coal mining—are among the least important in the state; and these two facts have sufficed to engender the optimistic supposition that, although there was doubtless room for improvement, Missouri was on the whole fairly well off in this respect. To this

supposition, in fact, the present reporter and other members of the Executive Committee of the Children's Protective Alliance inclined when that Alliance was first organized. Yet a little examination of the last census would have shown that, in 1900 at all events, Missouri had an exceptionally bad standing in the matter of child labor. The census reports on such subjects doubtless depart widely from perfect accuracy; but their error in the recording of child labor is likely to be rather by defect than excess, and there seems to be no reason to doubt their trustworthiness for purposes of comparison between the states. In the last census year Missouri employed children to a degree out of proportion to its industrial importance. Ranking as eleventh state in manufactures, with regard to the number of wage-earners employed, and tenth with regard to the amount of capital invested, Missouri stood eighth in the number of children between ten and fourteen years of age engaged in gainful occupations other than agriculture; 8,648 boys were so employed and 4,542 girls, a total of 13,190 children under fourteen, being a little less than four per cent of all children in the state between ten and fourteen. This represented an increase of about 5,550 over the (not very reliable) figures of 1890. How many of these children were employed in violation of the law it is impossible to say; but the law at that time forbade the employment of children under fourteen in factories, while the census report shows 400 between ten and thirteen years, inclusive, in tobacco, shoemaking and printing establishments alone. Equally detailed figures of more recent date are not available, as the effort of the Children's Protective Alliance to get a new and comprehensive investigation made, with the help of the State Bureau of Labor and Statistics, has thus far borne no fruit. The situation has undoubtedly improved, chiefly as a result of the passage of the state's first compulsory education law by the last legislature (1905); thus the chief truant officer of St. Louis, Mr. J. B. Quinn, informs me that, out of the 3,000 children added to the schools of that city through the enforcement of this new law, some 2,000 were taken from industrial employment. In St. Joseph the truant officer, Mr. Harvey Nash, reports that, in round numbers, out of 1,000 additional children under fourteen brought into the schools there by the compulsory attendance law, three hundred were taken from work, many of these having been employed in violation of the already existing child labor laws. These figures show the badness of the situation before the new attendance law became effective as eloquently as they do the service which that law has already rendered. But even since the enactment of this beneficent though inadequate statute, there is a good deal of evidence that child labor exists in Missouri to a degree and in kinds altogether intolerable; and it is open to serious question whether, even with the improved laws of 1905, we have done more than prevent the evil from extending, by offsetting the tendencies (such as a large Russian-Jewish and South European immigration, and a great multiplication of factories) which have made since 1900 for the increase of child labor. It is, indeed, true that the report of the State Bureau of Labor Statistics for 1905 records the employment of only 6,373 minors under sixteen years in factories, but these

reports—through the fault of the system and the laws, not of the officials in charge—are so unreliable, especially in such a matter, as to be practically negligible. The reports are derived chiefly from written answers to questions sent managers and superintendents; the inherent probability that underage employees would not be reported at all is shown to correspond to the fact by a comparison between these state returns and those of the United States census. Whereas the census reports over 13,000 children under fourteen years to have been employed in 1900 in gainful occupations other than agriculture, the state report for 1902—the nearest year in which such records were kept—shows only 6,450 employees in factories under sixteen years. More precise evidence of the questionable accuracy of the state labor reports may be seen in the fact that the census of 1900 shows 1,998 females over sixteen years employed in shoe factories in St. Louis, while the state report for the same year shows only 844 females of all ages in the same factories in the same city; or, again, that the census shows 1,713 females over sixteen employed in tobacco factories in St. Louis, while the state report shows only 1,248 females of all ages in such factories. Here, in one case, is a discrepancy of 1,000 in the returns for a single sex in a single industry in a single city; and it can hardly be supposed to be all due to the inflation of the census returns. In view of such facts it seems necessary to disregard the evidence of the state labor reports altogether. And the serious doubt therefore remains whether the child labor situation in Missouri has greatly improved, even after the series of well-meant, more or less helpful, but loosely conceived and partially ineffective legislative measures of the past five years.

A single instance may be cited of the sort of facts that gives color to such doubts. St. Louis should be freer than any community in the state from violations of the existing statutes, since it is the headquarters of the state factory inspector, an official who is sincerely interested in the work of eliminating child labor, and since, also, the city has a vigorous and intelligent enforcement of the compulsory education law. Yet quite recently Mr. Owen R. Lovejoy, assistant secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, while passing through the city on another errand, made a visit to the glass bottle house connected with one of the largest and best conducted of the breweries, and declared that he had seen nothing outside of Wheeling and Pittsburg that was worse in kind. The present reporter was led by this statement of Mr. Lovejoy's to go down to the place to see for himself, and found between twenty and thirty boys under sixteen employed on both day and night shifts—perhaps fifty altogether. Of these nearly half appeared to be under age; they were certainly under size; and it has since been shown that several of these boys, working from 5 p. m. to 3.30 a. m., under the peculiarly unhealthful conditions and with the feverish activity characteristic of the glass industry, were ten or eleven years of age. This sort of thing had apparently been going on for an indefinite period without the knowledge of the factory inspection and compulsory attendance officials, and was brought to light only as the result of a casual visit by an expert of the National Committee's staff. This particular situation, I am happy to say,

has since been rectified through the efforts of the chief truant officer, who has induced the superintendent to do considerably more than the present laws require.

It is, however, scarcely necessary either to cite special cases or to pile up statistical summaries, to establish the probability of the existence of child labor on a large scale in Missouri. For it is, however uncomplimentary to human nature, a safe assumption to make that, in any highly competitive industries, when there is a distinct profit to be made or a considerable economy to be realized by the employment (even illegally) of cheap labor, and no real risk to the employer therein, that labor will be widely used. It is enough, therefore, to point out the kinds and amount of child labor to which the present Missouri laws oppose no real obstacle. In the first place, much labor of children under fourteen is not even nominally prohibited by the present laws, even when we take the compulsory school law into account. This last requires attendance during only half the school year, which means from twenty weeks in the large cities to twelve weeks in some towns and rural districts. During the remaining thirty-two to forty weeks of the year any child under fourteen is legally at liberty to be employed in any industry not specified in the existing child labor laws. This means that children may legally be employed in any factories in which steam or mechanical power is not used, in workshops, stores, warehouses, laundries, hotels, etc., and in the singularly demoralizing messenger and delivery services. There is, moreover, no legal restraint upon the employment of children of any age in night work, except in bakeries and in factories where steam or mechanical power is used, and no restriction whatever upon night work, except in bakeries, in the case of children between fourteen and sixteen.

It is, however, trivial to talk about the law's mere prohibitions; it is not the evils that the law prohibits, but the evils that it prevents, that make a difference. And the laws prevent the social crime of child exploitation only when they contain adequate provision for the inspection of all industries and for the prosecution of all who engage in the prohibited acts. It is here that Missouri's laws are particularly weak. In the first place, the financial provision for the factory inspection department is entirely inadequate and not in proportion to the size and industrial productivity of the state. Consequently, not enough inspectors can be employed to do more, for the most part, than make routine inspections twice a year, or less often, along regular and carefully mapped routes. Consequently managers and foremen often know pretty well when inspectors may be looked for, and can be ready to hurry suspiciously young-looking children out of the way before the official eye falls upon them. In the second place, even this insufficient appropriation for inspection is required to be collected by the inspectors themselves in the form of one dollar fees; this has the effect of largely converting what is supposed to be an inspection bureau into a collection bureau; about half the time of the chief inspector and of his office staff is taken up in correspondence and bookkeeping necessitated by this duty, incongruously laid upon him, of providing the revenue for the payment of the salaries and expenses of

himself and his assistants. And when an inspector does, in spite of these hindrances, succeed in discovering young children actually at work in a prohibited industry, his troubles have only begun. For, first, in the absence of the requirement of an employment certificate, there rests upon the inspector the burden of proving by legal evidence that the child is actually under age; and this he often or usually must do in the face of parental prevarication or perjury. Second, if he can get enough such evidence to warrant carrying the case into court, he is likely to be confronted with a plea for exemption under the extreme poverty clause of the law. And the St. Louis courts, at least, have shown a tendency to find extreme destitution in the circumstances of most parents who care to represent themselves in that light. Finally, if this difficulty is also got over, the inspector may find himself under the necessity of proving precisely who it was that hired the child. In a case tried in St. Louis on December 10, 1906, the father, a prosperous mechanic, admitted that he did not need the wages of the child—a girl of twelve—for the support of the family; the poverty plea being thus barred, attorney for the defendant —the superintendent of a box factory—made the point that "to employ" means "to hire" or "engage to work," and that the actual hiring of the child was not done by the superintendent, though with his cognizance, but by one of the foremen in the establishment. The court considered this point sufficiently serious to justify it in taking the case—which in all other respects was absolutely clear—under advisement for five days; though the prosecuting attorney pointed out that if this plea were held valid it would render the penal clauses of the child labor law futile, since superintendents wishing to secure child laborers would then need only to employ third parties temporarily to act as intermediaries in luring the children. In view of all these difficulties, it is, perhaps, not greatly surprising that informations for violations of the child labor laws were filed by the factory inspector during the past twelve months in only twenty-two cases. Warrants were issued in sixteen of these cases. Twelve of the cases resulted in convictions, with fines aggregating $150; in two other cases a general continuance was ordered, and one case is still pending.

But the worst deficiency of the Missouri provisions for factory inspection has yet to be mentioned; namely, the fact that the jurisdiction of the state factory inspector extends only to cities having more than thirty thousand inhabitants. This singular feature was incorporated in the law by an amendment passed in 1903. Missouri has a large number of small manufacturing cities and towns; in none of these is there any practical restriction whatever upon the employment of children of any age, at any hour of day or night, in any industry. The enormous loophole thus deliberately put into the law is rapidly growing bigger and more serious because of the increasing tendency of certain classes of manufacturing establishments to remove from the large cities to smaller places. Firms are led to this move chiefly by the prospect of cheap land and greater freedom from trade union control; but they are usually ready incidentally to take advantage of their exemption from inspection in those places to ignore not only the child labor but many

other provisions of the state factory laws. Two of the largest shoe manufacturing corporations of St. Louis have recently opened factories in several different small cities, employing in most cases several hundred hands. That one of these cities which is nearest St. Louis I have personally visited, and have testimony from neighbors and prominent citizens of the place, that child labor is employed there upon a considerable scale. There is no reason at all to doubt that liberal advantage is generally taken of the free license which the law thus practically gives industrial greed to prey upon the children of all communities in the state that are so unlucky as to have less than thirty thousand of population.

II. Such is the situation with respect to the present child labor laws and their enforcement. But it is the hope and confident expectation of many citizens of Missouri that after the session of the General Assembly, which begins next month, the situation will be completely transformed, and that Missouri will be able to boast a comprehensive, coherent, carefully articulated and thoroughly enforceable body of laws for the protection of the children of the state from exploitation. For the purpose of helping to bring about such a result the Children's Protective Alliance of Missouri was formed in the spring of 1905, as the result of a meeting called in St. Louis by the secretary of the National Child Labor Committee. The executive committee of this organization, of which Mr. N. O. Nelson, of St. Louis, is chairman, and Mrs. Philip N. Moore, president of the State Federation of Women's Clubs, is vice-chairman, is engaged in preparing drafts of a connected series of bills that are to be presented at that session, and in arousing public interest in the matter by the circulation of petitions and by other methods. Vigorous public support is being given the agitation by the women's clubs, by the clergy—who are represented on the committee by Rev. J. W. Day and Rabbi Samuel Sale—and by the trades unions—who have representatives on the committee in Mr. David Kreyling and Mr. H. Steinbiss. Governor Folk has already given evidence of his earnest interest in child labor reform, and the committee's work has received the expert counsel and enthusiastic support of Mr. J. B. Quinn, chief truant officer of St. Louis, and Mr. J. A. C. Hiller, chief factory inspector, who was himself, fifteen years ago, as a member of the legislature, the author of one of the state's early factory inspection laws. The specific changes in the laws for which the Children's Protective Alliance stands are:

1. The extension of the prohibition of the employment of children under fourteen to cover workshops, warehouses, laundries, stores, hotels, restaurants, elevators, offices, theatres, bowling alleys, places where intoxicating liquors are sold and the messenger and express services.

2. The prohibition of night work for children under sixteen.

3. The requirement of an employment certificate in the case of all children between fourteen and sixteen employed in industrial and commercial establishments.

4. Prohibition of child labor in dangerous trades specified in the Illinois law.

5. A newsboys' law, the precise provisions of which are still under consideration.

6. The abolition of the fee system and the increase of the appropriation for the factory inspector's office.

7. The repeal of the clause limiting inspection to cities of over 30,000 population.

8. The abolition of exemption upon the plea of "extreme poverty of parent," the committee holding that it is poor social economy to sacrifice the next generation upon the altar of the misfortunes or inefficiency of the present generation.

9. The extension of the compulsory education requirement to cover the whole (instead of one-half only) of the school year.[1]

III. A few words should be added about the results up to date of the most important piece of constructive legislation enacted by the legislature of 1905—Missouri's first compulsory education law. The statute made the appointment of truant officers merely optional for school boards. Where such officers have been appointed—notably in St. Louis, Kansas City and St. Joseph—the law, even with its imperfections, has done immense good. In these three cities between five and six thousand children are estimated to have been added to the schools in consequence of the enforcement of the law. But the state superintendent of schools, Mr. W. T. Carrington, writes me that apparently only eighteen school boards in the state have appointed truant officers, and not all of these are qualified persons specially set apart for the work. In one case, for example, the chief of police acts as attendance officer, and in another the "head janitor." Many cities report that they have not sufficient room in the schools for the children that would be brought in if the compulsory laws were thoroughly enforced; these cities promise to take measures for a better enforcement next year, when the necessary school room space has been provided. Outside of the principal cities, in short, the law is ineffective, and even there it will be remembered, the maximum of required attendance is only twenty weeks, and the work of truant officers is greatly hampered by the necessity of getting legal proof of age, and by the liberality of the clause permitting exemption if "the child's labor is needed for the support of the parent." The policy of the St. Louis attendance office has been to avoid carrying cases into court and to grant exemptions somewhat freely. No prosecutions have been brought in that city under the penal clauses of the compulsory attendance law—though there have been four prosecutions for assault upon truant officers—and nearly four hundred exemptions have been granted, most of them, however, for periods of a few weeks only. In the case of parents claiming permanent or long-term exemptions in order that their children might work in stores or factories, a successful effort is being made this year in St. Louis to eliminate all such child labor by providing scholarships for children recommended for

[1] Bills covering all these points, except the fifth, are pending in the Missouri legislature as this goes to press, and the state committee confidently expects their passage. The newsboys' bill is temporarily held back for reasons of expediency.

exemption by the truant officer. The chairman of the executive committee of the Children's Protective Alliance, Mr. N. O. Neslon, has proposed to the women's clubs of the city to share equally with them the expense of such scholarships; and pending action by the women's clubs, Mr. Nelson is personally providing for all these cases, after they have been reported on by the truant officer and carefully investigated by the agents of the St. Louis Provident Association. The cases, of course, accumulate gradually through the year as the truant officers continue their work, so that it is impossible to say at this date how many will present themselves *per annum*. I have not Mr. Nelson's authority to say what the expense involved has thus far been. But a rough preliminary investigation of last year's long-term exemption cases indicated that the number of children properly entitled to scholarships would certainly not exceed fifty, and would probably be less than thirty. Sometimes over a third of the cases approved for exemption by the attendance office are rejected after the Provident Association's investigation. This provisional effort to deal with the problem of the dependent parent is of use, not only in itself, but as an indication of the proper future policy of the state with respect to exemption clauses in child labor and compulsory attendance laws. That policy is: Abolish absolutely all such exemptions—except for brief periods and for reasons arising out of temporary family emergencies—and leave it to the public spirit and philanthropy of private citizens to provide for the limited number of cases of genuine need consequently arising. Some school superintendents and others in Missouri have already begun to talk of the desirability of creating state or county funds for meeting these cases. But the dangers of such a plan are so considerable, and the opposition which it would be sure to arouse so great, that we cannot afford to let the repeal of the present exemption clauses wait upon the inauguration of any such scheme of public relief. There is, I think, small doubt that, at least in large cities, private philanthropy would prove easily equal to the emergency.

ARTHUR O. LOVEJOY, *Secretary.*

St. Louis, December 10, 1906.

REPORT FROM THE CITIZENS' CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

At the time of the Washington meeting of the National Child Labor Committee the District of Columbia had practically no compulsory education law, had practically no provisions for the special care of juvenile criminals, and had no child labor law. At the present time, a fairly satisfactory compulsory education law has been in operation for three months, and has caused an appreciable increase in the number of pupils in attendance at the public schools; in the second place, a juvenile court has cared for all offenders under the age of seventeen since July 1st, and by means of an efficient probation system has brought about a distinct improvement in the treatment of this phase of the child problem in the District of Columbia.

As reported at the national meeting of a year ago, a bill to regulate the employment of children in the District of Columbia was introduced into Congress on the first day of the session. A hearing on this bill was granted by the committee of the House to which it was referred, on March 16th. In the original form, this bill was regarded as containing the best provisions for the regulation of children's labor in use at the present time. When passed by the House, on April 9th, many essential features had been eliminated, and other amendments had so weakened the bill that the friends of the measure decided that they could not accept it in that form. Urgent representations were made to the committee on education and labor of the Senate, which finally granted a public hearing on the subject on April 30th. As a result of that hearing, the measure was reported to the Senate in practically its original form on May 3d, and was debated on June 6th and June 12th. Owing to the fact that the session was nearing its close, it was impossible to bring the measure to a vote, and the bill was left on the calendar during the summer recess. It was called up for consideration on December 10th and debated at some length, but no vote was taken. At the present time it is the unfinished business on the Senate calendar and may be called up at any time. The writing of this report was delayed, in the hope of being able to report definite action by the Senate, but at present a delay of some time seems inevitable.

During the year 1906 two public meetings on the subject of child labor in this city have been held; the first under the auspices of the Unitarian Club, and presided over by the Hon. William E. Chandler; resolutions indorsing the bill were passed and sent to Congress. The second meeting was held under the auspices of the Associated Charities, Mr. Charles F. Weller presiding in the absence of Mr. Gifford Pinchot.

At the present time a lively public interest exists in the local problem of children's employment and has manifested itself in an earnest effort to persuade Congress, the legislative body for the District, to enact local regulations during a session when a number of national measures of unusual complexity were severely taxing the strength and patience of the members of both houses. The local child labor committee feels that it owes a special debt of gratitude to Hon. Fred T. Dubois, of Idaho, who, among the many friends of the bill, has been conspicuous in urging the measure and assisting the committee in the difficult task of securing the attention of a national body for a local measure.

While this report is made by the local committee, it must be clearly understood that it would have been practically impossible to have secured the consideration which the bill has received without the aid of the national committee. The fact that the members of the Congress are peculiarly sensitive to public opinion in their own states, has made the services of the National Child Labor Committee invaluable in the effort to secure this much needed reform.

HENRY J. HARRIS, *Secretary.*

Washington, D. C., December 12, 1906.

REPORT OF THE MARYLAND CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

The campaign for a better regulation of child labor in Maryland was inaugurated last winter by the Consumers' League of Maryland, the Charity Organization Society of Baltimore, the Maryland Association for the Prevention and Relief of Tuberculosis, and the Social Settlements of Baltimore.

The Maryland Child Labor Committee was organized November 24, 1905. It is composed of representatives of various state and philanthropic activities which have an interest in the subject of child labor.

Using the experience which had been gathered in two investigations by the Consumers' League of Maryland, the state committee, through a subcommittee, had a child labor bill drafted, making it as advanced as it seemed possible to have passed by the legislature. The bill as introduced provided that children under twelve could not be employed in any of the gainful occupations, except farm work; that all children between twelve and sixteen, at work, must have an employment permit giving the name of the child, the name of the father, mother, guardian or custodian, place of birth of the child and the date of birth and the age of the child; and that such employment permit should be accompanied by a birth certificate, if such were in existence, and if no birth certificate, then a certificate from the proper authorities of the city or county where the child was born to the effect that no birth certificate existed. The issuance of such a permit was conditioned upon the ability of the child to read and write simple English sentences, and, further, that he or she had reached proper physical development commensurate with the years claimed. The proposed bill further provided that on January 1, 1907, the minimum age at which a child might work in Maryland should be thirteen years, and that on and after January 1, 1908, the minimum age should be fourteen years. A further provision of the bill authorized the appointment of six inspectors to carry out the provisions of the bill, at a compensation not exceeding $900 each per annum and their actual traveling expenses when away from the city of Baltimore on the business of their office. Besides these six inspectors, the attendance officers of the public schools are charged with reporting every case of illegal employment or other violations of the act to the justice of the peace having criminal jurisdiction in the locality where such illegal employment or other violations occur. Both the attendance officers and the inspectors may require that the employment permits and lists of employees shall be produced for their inspection in any office, establishment or business.

This bill was introduced in the house of delegates January 9, 1906, by Mr. Frederick T. Dorton, a member of the committee and honorary counsel for the Charity Organization Society, and was referred to the judiciary committee.

At the first hearing of the bill before that committee the State Child Labor Committee was opposed by the cotton duck manufacturers, through the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, and the glass manufacturers. The former finally agreed to support the measure, provided the sliding scale

raising the minimum age ultimately to fourteen years was eliminated, and that they might have the assurance that all widowed mothers and other cases of distress occasioned by the operation of the law would be adequately relieved. The latter assurance was promptly given, and the judiciary committee finally secured the amendment of the bill so that the sliding scale was eliminated.

Then some further opposition was aroused among country delegates who purported to stand for the fruit and vegetable interests in the state. They maintained that children employed in the canneries in the summer were better off than if wholly unemployed, and, in the absence of definite knowledge on the subject, the committee accepted the amendment, exempting the counties (Baltimore City is not in any county) from the operation of the first clause of the act from the 1st of June to the 15th of October in every year. During that period children under twelve may be employed in any of the gainful occupations in any county of the state. Children between twelve and sixteen, however, must have employment permits at any place in the state and at any time in the year, and all industries in the state are subject to inspection at any time during the year.

The bill as originally introduced provided that the governor be authorized to appoint the six inspectors mentioned. At Governor Warfield's suggestion this was amended so that the chief of the bureau of statistics and information was authorized to appoint. This bureau is made responsible for the enforcement of the law.

With these three amendments the bill passed both houses and was signed by the governor. The committee then endeavored to arouse public interest in the appointment of the inspectors. While it did not succeed in securing the appointment of these inspectors on a basis of merit only, the committee feels that six good appointments were made. Two of the appointments were from a list of six people whom the committee considered best fitted for that work of any available people in the state.

The officers of the bureau and the inspectors have evidenced a splendid spirit in organizing their forces and getting their machinery into operation. Already 12,000 applicants have been examined, and about ten per cent of these have been refused permits because of their inability to read or write, or on account of their physical deficiencies.

Arrangements have been made to meet all cases of *bona fide* distress occasioned by the operation of the law in cutting off the earnings of the child. In Baltimore City the Federated Charities have undertaken to raise school pensions for all such cases, and to date have found it necessary to supply about 14 such pensions, and to give temporary material relief in 17 others. For all the cases in the counties the clubs included in the State Federation of Women's Clubs will undertake to provide pensions. Up to this time but one such pension has been required outside of Baltimore City.

The committee has employed a special agent to investigate all pension cases. The special agent will also make an investigation of conditions among newsboys and children engaged in other street trades in the city of Baltimore. She will also organize auxiliary committees in the counties.

During the past summer the committee employed two investigators who made a study of conditions in the canning factories in the counties, but at this time the committee has received only a preliminary report of the results of that investigation. The special agent will also make a study of conditions in the homes of some of the Baltimore children discovered in the course of the cannery investigation. As yet the committee has taken no action relative to further legislation at the next session of the legislature in 1908.

H. WIRT STEELE, *Secretary.*

Baltimore, Md., December 11, 1906.

REPORT OF THE WISCONSIN CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

In the absence of a legislative session for 1906, the Wisconsin Child Labor Committee has had a needed year of investigation and of study of the problems of child labor and the closely allied problems of compulsory education, truancy and the wider extension of the juvenile court. We felt that to properly educate public opinion we must first educate ourselves and that we needed more definite information as to conditions in the smaller cities of the state and as to the method in which child labor and compulsory education laws were being enforced. The committee therefore sent out blanks to all the cities and large towns of the state asking for information, the questions being as follows:

1. Is the law requiring the attendance at some school of all children under fourteen years strictly enforced in your city and county?

2. If it is not enforced, what is the reason?

Have the citizens or any of them called upon the proper official to enforce it?

3. What proportion of children under fourteen years have been out of school during the past year?

What proportion under sixteen years, and not employed regularly for wages?

4. Are any children under fourteen years employed in factories or other places during the school year?

5. About what number?

6. How often have the state factory inspectors visited your city during 1905?

7. There are eleven inspectors for the whole state; if the number were increased and more frequent visits made, would their work be more effective?

8. How many children under sixteen years have been arrested for misdemeanors or crimes during 1905?

9. How many sent to the industrial (reform) schools?

10. How many dependent children were sent to state, county or private institutions during 1905?

11. What is the general moral state of the less fortunate children of your community?

The answers were instructive, in many ways encouraging and in more ways showing the great need of intelligent discussion of the laws relating to children and of their fearless enforcement.

In Milwaukee, the only large city in Wisconsin, we can report a still more thorough and satisfactory enforcement of the child labor law. This is partly due to a better knowledge of its provisions, to an increasing firmness on the part of the courts in applying its penalties for unlawful employment of children, and especially to a very close and able factory and store inspection. If the number of factory inspectors could be largely increased, and their visits to other cities and towns be more frequent, the reports from the rest of the state would be more encouraging. As it is, there is some discouragement in the reports from the smaller cities and towns partly because of the ignorance of the law and partly because of a lack of factory inspectors, and of the unwillingness on the part of other officials to enforce the law against their friends and associates.

It is impossible to give the exact details as to the number of permits issued, for the reason that the county and municipal judges, by whom the permits are largely given in other cities and counties than Milwaukee, do not make complete returns, and an amendment to the law, requiring such complete returns, is to be presented to the legislature. As nearly as can be ascertained there were about eight thousand permits given children to work during the year 1906, including in this number some four hundred vacation permits, under our law which permits children from twelve to fourteen years to work during the vacation of the public schools at certain specified employments. Although this provision is not satisfactory to many friends of the work, it seems best to continue it in the absence of satisfactory vacation school privileges and of enough small parks and playgrounds. There were during the year eighty-nine arrests for the unlawful employment of child labor and eighty-one convictions, and many children were removed from factories and stores.

One of the most helpful signs in the child labor outlook in Wisconsin is an increasing recognition by broad-minded employers of children that child labor in factories is of uncertain and questionable value from an economic standpoint. Some of the large factories of Wisconsin have, during the year, announced that they will not employ such labor in the future. The violation of the child labor law, both in letter and in spirit, seems to us increasingly to come rather from the side of the parent and the child than from the side of the employer, and we are glad to state that, as a whole, employers are each year more willing to comply with the law.

The committee expects to ask the legislature of 1907 for important amendments to the child labor law, which was properly left unamended for four years, that its working might be thoroughly studied. Among the most needed amendments which will be asked for are a simple education test for children under sixteen, an extension of the list of dangerous employments, the limiting of work for children under sixteen to nine hours a day and fifty-four hours a week instead of ten hours a day and sixty hours a week, as at present, and providing a system of uniform applications for permits and permits to work.

The problem of girls between fourteen and sixteen, who are employed in stores and factories, is one which gives more and more anxiety to Wisconsin students of social problems. We hope that the hours of work for girls up to twenty-one may be shortened at the next session of the legislature, so that at the least some undesirable employments will be closed to them and that compelling their dismissal from work at an early hour may avoid some of the evils resulting, in part at least, from young girls leaving work at the same hour as the men do.

The Wisconsin committee is convinced that child labor laws standing by themselves, even if thorough and modern in form, are too often a mockery of legislation unless they are accompanied by satisfactory and thoroughly enforced education and truancy laws and by ungraded rooms and schools, playgrounds and park facilities, and in general, unless when employment is denied to children, school and vacation facilities are given and school attendance compelled. Our committee therefore seeks not only a child labor law which shall be practical and modern in the best sense, but also to keep fully abreast (and if possible in advance of that standard) the educational system of the state, including compulsory education laws and satisfactory truancy laws. And we believe that the juvenile court should be extended throughout the state. Undesirable as certain forms of child labor are, and much as we may look forward to a time when no child under sixteen shall be employed at gainful occupations the fact remains that under existing conditions a great number of such children must work for wages, and that it is far worse to have children in idleness on the streets, studying in the school of crime, because of lack of proper educational laws and of vacation schools and playgrounds and other proper and normal ways to use the abounding strength of childhood.

EDWARD W. FROST, *Chairman.*

REPORT OF THE PENNSYLVANIA CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

During the past year the Pennsylvania Child Labor Committee has been engaged actively in a campaign for the enforcement of the child labor law.

Eighty-three cases were reported to the chief factory inspector and twenty to deputies of the factory department, in which the committee alleged violations of the law; as a result of this information $11,500 in fines was imposed. Nine prosecutions were brought and seven were successful. One hundred and sixty children were discovered by the committee to be illegally employed, and sixty-nine of them were dismissed.

In addition to this work the committee distributed forty thousand circulars, pamphlets, copies of the law, etc.

During the summer the two most important sections of the Pennsylvania child labor law, those relating to the employment certificate were declared unconstitutional, and it is now incumbent upon the committee to secure a new law covering the defects which the court found in the old one.

SCOTT NEARING, *Secretary.*

REPORT OF THE IOWA CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

The Iowa committee has very little to report. Our report is a tentative one, merely that of progress. I think we are not disposed to enter into any rivalry respecting this claim of early origin, for every one knows that we lie west of the Mississippi. Our popuation is essentially homogeneous. It consists of two streams that met together, one typified by Massachusetts and New York, the other by Virginia and Tennessee. Both came to us before the slavery agitation and for the same purpose, that of finding homes on the prairies; and therefore they have welded, and there are no traces of disagreement between these two currents of population. I think one result of our quiet and peace is a degree of self-complacency which is perhaps harder to meet when you want something done than open opposition.

It may be well to call attention to the fact that we have also entered the list of biennial states; we have had biennial sessions of our legislature for a long while, and we now have annual elections; for making the transition we had an assembly last year, and we will have one again this coming winter; from now on the elections will be biennial as well as the assembly.

Our report is brief. I want to call attention first to the law, and, secondly, to its history, which indeed is very brief. I think I should acknowledge before passing to a very brief account of our brief statute, that the fact that we have a statute at all is due in no small measure to the National Committee, to your secretaries, Dr. Lindsay and Mr. Lovejoy. We owe much also to our Governor and other public men, and to certain moral agencies, such as the Women's State Federation and the labor unions, which fell in line. Indeed, the Women's Federation was working for a law through several years preceding the last assembly which gave us our law. The law that we secured, and a printed copy of which I hold in my hand, as you can see is quite short. We have followed the best examples of the Northern States and adopted their standards in several fundamental particulars. In the first place, we have a general prohibition of the employment of children under fourteen years in our factories and work-shops; and, secondly, a special prohibition of the employment of all children under sixteen—that is, of all young people under sixteen in certain dangerous occupations that are specified. Then we have two special provisions for the young people between the ages of fourteen and sixteen. We have a ten-hour day limit for these young people where they may be employed, with a provision for a nooning, which must fall between eleven o'clock and one o'clock; and then we have the further provision which calls for a posted list in each place of the young people employed from fourteen to sixteen. To section one of the statute there is an interesting exception which. of course, you will recognize at once as bearing the earmarks of the state's industries: "The provisions of this section shall not apply to persons employed in husking sheds or other places"—you know we are one of the corn states—"connected with canning factories where vegetables or grain are prepared for canning, and in which

no machinery is operated." Of course many of you know that this is an exception that has been stood out for even in England.

We have a long section enumerating the people who are liable to penalty for violation of the law, but the fine or penalty is not excessive. The fine is assessable against any one of a very large number of parties, but shal in no case exceed one hundred dollars or imprisonment in the county jail not to exceed thirty days.

The chief weakness of the statute lies in the fact that our committee failed to secure, and you who are engaged in dealing with this subject, especially in the matter of propaganda, know how difficult it is to secure, adequate provision for proving the age.

Finally, a word on the history of the law and the manner of its enforcement. The statute is less than a year old, and places its enforcement in the hands of the State Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor. The principle of centralizing the administration in the Bureau of Labor as adopted will work well if there is a good commissioner all the time. There is at present a strong and discreet man in that office. It "shall be the duty of the Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics to enforce the provisions of this act, and such commissioner and his deputies, factory inspectors,"—(we have two)—"assistants, and any other persons authorized by him in writing"—now there is an important point. The commissioner may multiply himself to any extent that he can find in the community persons whom he wants to deputize. That, you see, is important.

We have the beginnings of a compulsory education law in our state. Our laws now call for four months of schooling each year for all children between the ages of five and fourteen. We have also some, though not adequate, provision for truancy officers.

Our child labor law was passed last spring. The Commissioner of Labor reported a few days ago that in four hundred establishments visited sixty-three children were found employed contrary to the law and dismissed. In sixty-five establishments the posted lists were not correct, and were corrected.

Our committee will probably not ask for any amendments of the law at once. We have thought it best to let the matter lie over so far as the pending assembly is concerned altogether for another two years, and by that time we shall be able to see how our law works.

I. A. Loos, *President.*

REPORT FROM GEORGIA CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

I feel that an explanation is due for my undertaking to make not only a verbal, but what is almost an impromptu report. I did not know until I came into the hall that I would be asked to make this report from Georgia's Child Labor Committtee. The fact is that I belong to that class that does not come under the operation of any state hours of labor law, and for whom

nobody has proposed any such relief—probably because it is not considered that we need it—and, therefore, being exceedingly busy, I have unloaded on my friend, Dr. McKelway, since he has been in Atlanta, and I thought that I would simply give a brief history of the movement in Georgia up to the present time, and let him put the capstone on.

I do not remember just when the Georgia Child Labor Committee was organized, it has been so long ago, but I am inclined to ask for a hold-up on the decision as to the claim made by New York as being the first. The truth is that New York City does not learn of the good things that happen in Georgia as quickly as she does of the bad. I do not remember exactly the date, but I myself went to Atlanta in 1900, and it may have been that in the year 1901 Atlanta was visited by Miss McFadden, who was there as the paid representative of Mr. Gompers, to organize labor. I mention that because the fact made it more difficult for us to win as we have won, because it put us up against the claim made by the other side that this movement was all in the interest of the laboring classes, and there was a considerable degree of plausibility in the contention made for a while that only a few sentimental preachers and a few women and labor agitators and paid emissaries of the northern mills were in favor of this movement. At the first meeting that I attended in Atlanta there were present a few women and some laboring men. Notwithstanding that, however, we have gone through these stages; the committee which considered this matter appeared before the committee of the legislature in the year 1901 before I went into the fight, which had stacks of testimony before them from physicians, the burden of which was that of all the health resorts for children ever devised by a kind Providence or intelligent men a cotton mill was the best.

When they had to give that up the cotton mill men got together and called themselves the Industrial Association (because, I suppose, their business is to keep other people industrious), and they formed the voluntary agreement that no children should be worked under a certain age, or for more than a certain number of hours. They practically acknowledged under the educational influences that were pouring in to them that child labor was a regrettable evil; but their next point was that "it is unnecessary to single us out by class legislation, it is unnecessary to put this law on the statute book, because we are voluntarily enforcing that ourselves, and if you walk into any of our mills you will see rules and regulations hung up on the walls." Well, the next thing we had to do was to show that those resolutions were not lived up to by any except a few. Those few were humane men who did everything that they could for the children. It has taken some time to convince the people of Georgia that, just as under the régime of slavery, the kind slave-owner was the greatest obstacle in the way of emancipation, so the kind mill man is the greatest enemy of the children, because by reason of that kindness necessary legislation is prevented, and under the benevolent flag of those men, greedy and avaricious mill men are allowed to exploit children to their hearts' content.

We finally got so many people in favor of this that it soon became a gen-

eral movement, and we then simply had to show that those laws were not lived up to. I will refer to a little interesting bit of correspondence between our committee, carried on through its secretary. They denied our allegation. Well my friend Dr. McKelway is too good a Presbyterian to take photographs on Sunday, but, like some other good people I know, he was not too good to get somebody else to do it; and so he had pictures and names and ages of children working in the mill of the very man, the chairman of the committee, who was conducting this pious correspondence with me and denying the accusation. Before those pictures and names were published they were put in the hands of a reporter, who went and interviewed that gentleman, who flatly denied the accusation. Said the reporter: "Well, what do you think of that child working in your mill?" at the same time displaying the picture. His reply was: "Well it isn't right to take pictures on Sunday afternoon." The legislature last summer a year ago passed a bill in the lower house, defeating it by a few votes in the upper house.

I want to say two things in regard to the debate, however. That debate illustrated that when you put your hand on a child for good or for evil you are putting your hand on the center of something that will radiate in all directions and is connected on the one side with all good, and on the other side with all bad. That debate, in the lower house particularly, marked an epoch in the history of Georgia. It was not merely that some men stood for the child, but they stood for principles of the highest civilization. It was the dawn of the new day. In the Senate we had one man, fortunately, who was a mill owner himself. He was asked the question: "Do you belong to the Georgia Industrial Association?" He replied immediately, "I do not." He was again asked: 'Why don't you?" "Oh, that mine enemy," he said, "would ask me that question! Because, sir, I will not take money out of my pocket to hire a lawyer to come to the Georgia legislature to defeat righteous legislation." We were a little despairing as to whether we could get a bill passed at this last session, because it was the same legislature, and yet not the same. The personnel was the same. I cannot better describe the condition of that legislature than by borrowing one of Sam Small's stories with a little different application, however. He said that once there was a man crossing the street, and meeting another he said: "Which is the uzzer side of the street?" "Why, over there." "Why, that's funny, I was over there and asked them which was the uzzer side of the street and they told me to come over here." The legislature did just that way with us, trying to find out which was the other side of the street. They found out. They heard from the people. On the other hand, our bald-headed men and long-haired women and labor agitators had spread their doctrines abroad till the people of Georgia from the mountains to the sea with one voice cried, "Take your hands off the babies."

Now the present situation is this: Our governor-elect is one of the members from Georgia of the National Child Labor Committee, the third one being his principal antagonist for the gubernatorial position; and the only two things on which they agreed were: First, that they both wanted to be

governor; second, that they are both in favor of the children. So Governor-elect Hoke Smith is for the children, and has been honestly and openly and strongly for them.

C. B. WILMER, *Secretary.*

Atlanta, Ga.

REPORT FROM THE ALABAMA CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

Our work has been mainly along the line of educating public opinion. We were fortunate last summer in the state campaign to get both candidates for governor committed to child labor reform, and the platform of the Democratic state convention contained a clause in favor of child labor legislation.

The annual conference of the Methodist Church and the annual convention of Women's Federated Clubs have both made strong appeals to the state legislature for more efficient child labor laws. Two weeks ago Rev. J. W. Stagg, of Birmingham, and Fred S. Ball, of this city, were appointed delegates to the National Child Labor Meeting to be held in Cincinnati.

Last week, at a meeting of our state committee, a sub-committee was appointed to draw up a bill to be presented to the legislature, which meets about the middle of January. The main features of this bill are, adequate inspection, publicity, raising the age limit for girls to fourteen years, and raising the age limit for night work to sixteen years for boys and girls. I hope and think we will be able to pass a satisfactory bill in January.

BENJAMIN J. BALDWIN, *Chairman.*

REPORT FROM NORTH CAROLINA CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

The child labor movement in North Carolina has made some progress during the past year.

We have a committee charged with securing additional legislation from the state legislature of 1907. This committee is composed of such citizens as Ex-Governor C. B. Aycock, Bishop Joseph Blount Cheshire, Ex-Governor T. J. Jarvis, and others. The editors of many newspapers are actively interested. Such papers as the *Biblical Recorder,* the Raleigh *Christian Advocate,* the *Progressive Farmer,* and the *News and Observer* are ardent friends of better legislation.

Our committee has been trying to interest the cotton mill owners in our proposed legislation. Some of these men are favorable to our plans.

Our committee propose to try to secure the passage of a law raising the age limit from twelve by an act to prohibit night work by all children under fourteen; also to prevent girls under fourteen from being employed in any

manufacturing plant, as well as to prohibit all illiterate children under sixteen from employment.

The essential defect of our present legislation is that there is no inspection. The law is violated a great deal, as there is no machinery to detect violations. This we propose to try to remedy.

Our legislature meets every two years. Our last legislation was enacted in 1903. The only difficulty we will have is the scarcity of labor cry, when we get to the legislature with our measure.

We hope by December, 1907, to have some definite progress to report.

CHARLES L. CONE, *Secretary.*

REPORT FROM THE SOUTHERN STATE CHILD LABOR COMMITTEES

I do not think it is necessary to add anything to the report from Georgia, except that the legislature did pass, in 1906, a child labor bill by a vote of 125 to 2 in the house, and unanimously in the senate. It was the senate that had defeated the bill the year before. The same legislature passed a very much better bill, therefore, after having heard from the people.

I should like to acknowledge also in this connection the eminent service that the press of the state did for us. There were only one or two papers that were even lukewarm on the subject; and the senate, after defeating the first bill, was cartooned and lampooned until the members came up ready to do almost anything for the children.

The Alabama state committee, I think, is the oldest of our southern committees, and if New York is the oldest of the northern, why Alabama can perhaps claim to be the oldest child labor committee in the country. They have been actively at work during the past year.

There was a campaign in Alabama for the governorship, as in Georgia. One of the candidates was in favor of our reform from the beginning and the other saw his way clear, before the close of the campaign, to come out upon our platform. The convention nominated him, he being the successful candidate, and the child labor plank was put into the platform of the party.

The Alabama law needs amendment in striking out that miserable ten year exception for children who have no other means of support, or who have to support somebody else who has no other means of support. Alabama ought also to have factory inspection. We are almost without factory inspection in the entire South as yet, and that is the most urgent thing upon our program in all the Southern States where it is lacking; also we need to raise the age limit from twelve to fourteen years for children in mines, and from twelve to fourteen for children who cannot read and write.

The Georgia law has a twelve year age limit with the same ten year exception which was forced into the bill against our consent; but it provides that children under eighteen must attend school three months of each

year as a prerequisite to employment the next year. I think the eighteen year age limit for children who have not fulfilled some educational requirement is the highest in the country. Massachusetts used to have a law that no minors should be employed in a mill unless they attended school at night simultaneously with their employment. The school term is short, only three months of the year; but that is a great advance for Georgia; it gives the little fellows a holiday for three months of the year from the mill, and also some opportunities for education. I understand that the mill owners are already telling the parents that have been sending their children to the mill this year that they cannot be employed next year unless they send them off to school.

The twelve year age limit is the general limit. Then for the children of widowed mothers or crippled fathers it is ten years; but we have guarded that as carefully as we could, although we had to put it in. We have an officer of the county called the county ordinary, a sort of county judge. The parent is required to make an affidavit before him that the family is entirely dependent upon the labor of that child and that without such labor the family will be in the poor house. With that provision we do not think the abuse will be very great, and we hope to amend the law next summer, as Georgia is one of the states whose legislatures meet every year.

There has been considerable effort in Oklahoma to put the child labor plank into the new constitution.

The Florida legislature meets in January, 1907, and there is good prospect of passing a child labor law for the protection of the children in the cigar factories and canning factories, especially. In South Carolina we have not met with much encouragement as yet from the press, and there seems to be a general spirit of contentment with the present law; the twelve year age limit with the ten year exception and the provision that dependent children of any age can be employed in the mills.

The South Carolina legislature meets in January, 1907. The mill men have been contending for a system of compulsory education, though the age limit suggested, twelve years, was rather low, while the labor representatives have been agitating for a shorter working day, the mill men also having decided to reduce the hours to sixty hours a week by 1910.

The Tennessee legislature also meets in January, 1907. Tennessee already has a fourteen year age limit and the friends of the children have resisted several efforts of the manufacturers to lower the age limit. The great need in Tennessee is legislation which shall give full rights and privileges to the factory inspectors.

I presume that there will be no agitation on the child labor cause in the other southern states during the year 1907.

A. J. McKELWAY, *Assistant Secretary.*

REPORT OF THE CHILD LABOR COMMISSION OF THE STATE OF OREGON

I submit herewith report of the work of the Child Labor Commission for such use as you may require.

In Portland alone 231 permits were used for vacation work for children between the ages of twelve and fourteen. Our law gives permission for this, stipulating that the employment must be such that will not injure the health or morals. We were very particular as to this point, which accounts for the number not being any larger.

Three hundred and sixty-three age and schooling certificates have been issued from January 1st to date to children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen who can fulfil the requirements.

Since the inauguration of the juvenile court and the appointment of a truant officer, the child labor work has been helped from both sources—both have learned that child labor is not a blessing, as they had previously supposed—and that there was a great deal more than either of them had believed. There has been a great gain in sentiment in favor of the law and its enforcement.

There are at present ten cases filed with the district attorney, being "held up" by that official during the good behavior of the employers.

The best we can do under the present state of affairs is to keep at it, filing information whenever that becomes necessary, and keep on building sentiment in favor of the law. The labor unions constantly assert their sympathy with the law, and the members serenely go on working alongside of children violating the law without a protest either to the commission, to the employers or to the union whose principles they are violating. Of course I understand the reasons—their jobs would be forfeited—but I feel that if we could emphasize this feature of the case we might secure a closer co-operation among the forces who are supplying a good share of the child labor.

In the model child labor law there is a form for employment ticket. This I have found to be almost useless, as it is only with the first application that it is filed. After the child has once received his age and schooling certificate he changes his employment at will without reporting to the inspectors again. Do you expect to take up the discussion of such things at the meeting? I regret so much that I cannot attend.

Another thing—I find that our district attorney cannot tell me whether or not the papers have been filed on the appeal of the child labor case to the United States Supreme Court—it would be useless to do as Mrs. Kelley suggested—ask the employers in this case to hold it up—it involves the messenger companies, and there is no such thing as compromise with that element.

I hope that there is something in the foregoing that will indicate that Oregon is not asleep—we may not be going forward very rapidly, but we are working.

MILLIE R. TRUMBULL, *Secretary.*

REPORT OF THE WARREN CHILD LABOR LEAGUE, OF WARREN, OHIO

In compliance with your request, I send to you the following report of the work of the Warren Child Labor League:

In September, as the result of suggestions received from the New York office of the National Child Labor Committee, a local Child Labor League was organized at Warren with thirty-one members, each contributing $2 to the support of the national work. An executive committee was appointed with power to appoint committees, to call meetings, and in general to take all steps necessary to carry on the work of the local league. That committee accordingly appointed an investigation committee of five to ascertain what children of school age were out of school and what such children were doing.

Thanks to the efficiency of the superintendent of the public schools and the truant officer, not many children of school age were found outside of school. Some such, however, were found. Those who were simply truants were reported to the truant officer and were brought into the schools. Those who were found working without proper certificates were reported to the superintendent and their cases further investigated, inasmuch as some children were working because of the neglect of the father to contribute to the support of the family. The mayor, who is also a member of the executive committee, was appointed a committee of one to see that proper legal steps were taken to force such parents to do their duty and to keep their children in school. To provide for cases of other children at work, because their families needed their help a committee of three was appointed to obtain from public funds and from funds of private organizations means already available to help such families. Should these sources prove inadequate such further steps will be taken as the case seems to demand.

Soon after the organization of the league the executive committee sent a committee of one to notify the manufacturers of its existence and to solicit their active co-operation in the work. All manufacturers who were approached spoke kindly of the work and denied having any desire to employ child labor. The committee has not yet called their attention to the children who were in their factories, because very few illegal cases were found, and those were taken out of the factories; and because the committee is not yet certain that the whole situation has been completely uncovered, and is continuing its investigations. Should other cases be discovered the manufacturers will be given an opportunity to actively co-operate with the committee in the work of ending the illegal employment of child labor in Warren. Should they fail to avail themselves of this opportunity, the cases will be reported to the state factory inspector.

The organization of the league has already been a stimulus and encouragement to faithful officials, and has had a perceptible influence upon the public. The subject has been discussed in club meetings; members of the league have been drawn out pleasantly at social meetings; and kindly

allusions have been made by press and by pulpit; some children at work without proper certificates have voluntarily gone to the superintendent to obtain such certificates; some children who ought not to have been employed were discharged before their cases could be reached by the committee. There has been some agitation, and even some restraint, shown by parents of children interested.

On December 12th will be held the first open meeting of the league since its organization. On December 19th Mr. Lovejoy, of your committee, is to bring the subject of America's working children before the citizens of Warren.

PHEBE T. SUTLIFF, *Chairman.*

REPORT OF THE CONSUMERS' LEAGUE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

During the past year the New York State Consumers' League has given much time and energy to the subject of our working child.

The committee on press and legislation wrote many letters to senators and representatives in Albany urging the passage of the laws for the laboring child then before them.

Our organization has felt the need of more effective co-operation among the women of New York State.

To this end we have joined the Federation of Women's Clubs. We hope by affiliation with the various women's clubs to get at the conditions of child labor in the cities, towns and villages of our state.

For this purpose and to arouse intelligent interest we have prepared a syllabus of study for clubs and reading circles on "Our Working Child." We have tried to make it simple, clear and practically useful. It has only just been published, so that we cannot report on its effectiveness, but the correspondence with clubs and leagues has been encouraging.

The aims we have in our work are to awaken a lively interest in school attendance and in the school census. We ask the women of the state to see to it not only that efficient attendance officers are appointed, but that the work of such officials is upheld by strong public sentiment. We hope to help in the work of arousing interest in favor of efficient manual training as an incentive for the child to remain in school beyond the required age of fourteen. We hope to be one of the forces guiding public opinion toward such readjustments of our social life as shall make possible and hasten the day of a more prolonged childhood than our state now finds possible.

We are interested in having uniform laws for child laborers in our country, and by collating the laws of our own state and working for their proper enforcement we hope to be doing something for this larger aim.

MRS. A. M. BEARDSLEY, *Secretary.*

REPORT FROM THE CONSUMERS' LEAGUE OF PHILADELPHIA

The league has assisted by personal investigation in the enforcement of the factory act, especially in retail establishments, and has had over one hundred violations of this act removed.

It has received complaints of the violations of the law, and referred them to the factory inspector's office, through the State Child Labor Committee.

It has co-operated in general work for child labor reform through representation on the State Child Labor Committee.

In connection with the Pennsylvania Child Labor Committee, it has helped to organize the industrial exhibit, one of the chief objects of which is to represent child labor conditions in this state.

It has printed and distributed among working girls popular and simplified copies of the child labor act in the form of questions and answers. I am enclosing a copy of the circular.

It has aided by means of addresses, distribution of literature, etc., in arousing popular opinion on the subject of child labor.

FLORENCE L. SANVILLE, *Secretary.*

REPORT FROM THE CONSUMERS' LEAGUE OF MARYLAND

Early in the year 1905 the Consumers' League decided to study the conditions of the child labor problems of Baltimore and to try to arouse interest in them.

In pursuance of this plan, the annual meeting of 1905 was devoted to this subject, and the speaker, Dr. S. M. Lindsay, made an address on "The Working Child." In the spring of the same year the league engaged a trained social worker, Miss M. L. White, to make a preliminary investigation, under the auspices of the Maryland Bureau of Statistics, into the conditions of children at work in the factories and canning houses of Baltimore. The results of this investigation were published under the title of "Child Labor in Baltimore," and the pamphlets were widely circulated.

In the autumn of 1905 the Consumers' League became convinced of the need of additional information from a different standpoint, and employed Miss Elizabeth Spicer to inquire into the home conditions of working children.

The data thus obtained was edited and published in a pamphlet entitled "A Study of Working Children in Baltimore." Many meetings were held and much literature was distributed in the interest of the same subject. From the work of the Consumers' League along these lines there developed a general realization of the definite need for legislation, and the Maryland Child Labor Committee was formed, and the Dorton child labor bill was drawn up. After a hard-fought contest, the bill finally passed the legislature with some of its provisions altered.

The chief gains are: (1) Appointment of factory inspectors to enforce the law; (2) an educational qualification for all children under sixteen and an investigation of the child's physical fitness for work; (3) the application of the law to the whole state.

The league hopes to extend its educational work throughout the State of Maryland, and an attempt has been made to secure the active co-operation of individuals in the several counties.

A good beginning was made this summer by having the work presented at two conventions. Miss L. V. North and Dr. Thaddeus Thomas, of the Woman's College, delivered the addresses at Mountain Lake Park, and Miss North went to Ocean City to address the Tri-County Institute of Public School Teachers of Worcester, Somerset and Wicomico Counties.

A number of applications for literature followed this meeting. At present the league is trying to take an intelligent interest in the working of the two laws that chiefly affect children, viz.: the school attendance law and the child labor law—and it has also undertaken to raise money for a pension as a substitute for child labor earnings.

The league now has an advertisement in the street cars calling attention to early Christmas shopping, in order to spare women and children workers the usual Christmas rush.

MRS. DANIEL MILLER, *Corresponding Secretary.*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CHILD LABOR OF THE MASSACHUSETTS CONSUMERS' LEAGUE

The Committee on Child Labor can report no definite advance in its legislative work for the year 1906. A bill was framed to limit the labor of children under sixteen from 7 a. m. to 7 p. m., but on consultation with certain members of the trades unions we found that such a bill would be regarded by them as of positive injury to their overtime bill. This bill has figured very largely in Massachusetts politics for the last two years, and is an attempt to close the textile factories in the evening hours by preventing the labor of women and minors after 6 p. m. We decided to withhold our bill last year, but at present we are expecting to introduce it.

In order to ascertain more definitely the number of children under sixteen who are now employed after 7 p. m. the secretary of the Consumers' League made an investigation of the five and ten cent stores, the district messenger service and the fruit and candy stores. The report of this investigation is appended hereto. Although most of the investigation was undertaken in the City of Boston, it is believed that the situation regarding the employment of children is not greatly different in the other cities of the state.

As the friends of the overtime bill feel that the bill is as good as passed, namely, that it is not likely to meet with opposition this year, it seems

probable that we can introduce the bill preventing evening work for those under sixteen at the coming session of the legislature, and the strong public sentiment which is at present aroused in favor of preventing the labor of children will doubtless mean that the bill will go through the legislature very easily.

Though unable to push forward this legislation, we rendered aid to two other bills; one of these, introduced on the recommendation of the State Board of Education, defined more clearly the educational requirements of the bill preventing the labor of illiterate children between fourteen and sixteen, for which our committee was sponsor the preceding year. This bill was passed. The other bill, introduced on the recommendation of Governor Guild, made the visits of truant officers to factories or shops where it was suspected that children under fourteen were employed mandatory on the school boards of the different cities and towns. This bill also passed the legislature.

The Civic League of Massachusetts was largely instrumental in placing on the statute books an act relative to the appointment of school physicians in every city and town of the commonwealth, requiring that these physicians should examine the children not only when there was sign of infectious or contagious disease, but also requiring them to ascertain whether the children were troubled with defective sight, hearing or other permanent disability. This act went into effect in September, 1906. It has therefore seemed wise for our Child Labor Committee to consider the introduction of a bill requiring some sort of physical examination before the granting of a working certificate by the school authorities. A member of our committee is now looking up the methods pursued in New York in carrying out the law already operative there requiring such physical test. It has seemed to us that the office of school physician might be made more important and effective if such duties are added to those already undertaken by him.

The subject of child labor was presented twice to meetings in Boston through the instrumentality of the Consumers' League by Mr. Owen Lovejoy and Mrs. Florence Kelley, and we are now planning a conference in January which will be entirely devoted to the interests of child labor.

Appendix: Report of investigation of night work of children under sixteen in five and ten cent stores, messenger boy agencies and fruit and candy stores.

The investigation was undertaken to see what the difficulties would be in the way of passing a bill prohibiting night work of children under sixteen in Massachusetts.

Evidently there is no night employment of children under sixteen on any larger scale. The messenger agencies prefer to employ none but the older boys at night, and do not consider that the proposed law would interfere with them. However, small boys are occasionally seen delivering parcels and messages at night.

The five and ten cent stores are careful to comply with all requirements of the law; and, generally speaking, their girls are sixteen years of age or over; but in the evenings extra girls come on to help with the extra work, mostly from the high schools, and these girls are below sixteen. The law proposed would prevent their working; and they would probably consider it objectionable, as they seem to enjoy the evening work, and make enough to pay for their lunches and car fares during the week at school.

In the small stores a child was occasionally found helping its relations, but these cases were seldom.

Besides interviewing the managers of these various businesses, the investigator had interviews with Mr. Pidgin, Chief of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor; Judge Harvey Baker, of the Boston Juvenile Court; Mr. Boker, officer of the State Board of Charities; Mr. Wise and Mr. Keefe, probation officers; and Mr. Birtwell, of the Children's Aid Society, to see what light their experience would shed on the question.

Apparently none of them had the night work of children brought to their attention, which would seem to prove that there is comparatively little of it in Boston.

The court officers had not noticed that messenger boys were conspicuously delinquent; they did not remember any instance of such boys having been prosecuted for theft. The managers of the messenger boy companies, however, admitted the temptations to thieving in their business, and had had experience of theft by the boys. Probably they find it expedient to keep such cases out of court.

The Children's Aid Society questioned its agents as to their experience of night work of children. Three cases of messenger boys under sixteen who had been known to work at night were mentioned; one or two vague mentions were made of children who had been seen in stores late at night; and it was also reported that children are employed at night in jam factories in summer. Even the bulk of the newsboys, however, reported as not working after supper.

Summary.—A law prohibiting night work between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m. of children under sixteen in Boston would affect a minority of the girls in the five and ten cent stores, and would altogether prevent the extra high school help in the evenings; would make little difference in the messenger service; and practically none at all in the small store business. There do not seem to be any strong interests that could be summoned against the proposed bill.

EDITH M. HOWES, *Chairman.*

REPORT FROM DETROIT CONSUMERS' LEAGUE

We are in the midst of our most strenuous work just now. During November, December and January we are employing a trained worker to make some investigation for us. He is Mr. V. T. Randall, whom you may

know, as he has worked much in New York. Last month he devoted most of his time to photographing scenes in districts where child labor and sweat shops would most likely exist. These pictures were shown at the Art Museum before a large and enthusiastic audience at the end of the month at a meeting of the Social Conference Club. Mr. Randall found no sweat shop or home workers' problem to speak of in Detroit, and it seems to be the general opinion that there is very little home work done here, and practically no great sweat shop problem, but we are now employing Mr. Randall for the next two months in making a thorough investigation of factories where women and children are employed, to look up bad conditions of that kind. He is to go as a licensed health board inspector, and secure what evidence he can find of child labor violations. We are asking the co-operation of the ministers of the city for reports of any and all cases they may know about.

The subject of early Christmas shopping comes up every year for agitation, and we have accomplished much in Detroit through our daily papers, suburban papers, leaflets and folders, and this year we are hanging 100 printed cards enumerating the advantages in early shopping, and signed by the league, in all of our prominent stores of the city. We are now very well known as an organization, and I believe very favorably known in Detroit, and have introduced the labeled garments in all of our best stores, and created some demand for them in the four years of our organization.

FLORENCE G. TAYLOR, *Corresponding Secretary.*

REPORT FROM THE KENTUCKY CONSUMERS' LEAGUE

The work of the Consumers' League of Kentucky during the past year has been to visit the homes of truant children and to remove the cause for truancy either by persuasion or money. But few cases were found to need money, and these needed it only for an emergency.

Factories are also visited by the league, and the cases of young children given permits to work are looked into, and the children sent to school if this can be managed.

During the coming year this visiting will be even more persistent, and a strong effort will be put forth to double the number of truant officers.

These officers make reports to the league and call upon it whenever a child is found at home because of lack of food or clothing. Having succeeded in getting the Louisville School Board to enforce the law by dint of much urging and threats of a mandamus proceeding, the league feels more responsibility about the results of this law than of any other branch of the Consumers' League work.

REPORT FROM CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE OF THE CONSUMERS' LEAGUE OF CLEVELAND, OHIO

The work of the Consumers' League in Cleveland for the protection of children, to February, 1906, can best be shown by quoting freely from the last report of the president of the society, Mrs. Marie Jenney Howe. She writes as follows:

"In Ohio there is a state law to the effect that no boy under sixteen and no girl under eighteen may legally be employed after 7 o'clock at night. In Cleveland there is a group of women who have undertaken to see that this law is enforced. They want to find out what such a law means. They are finding out what it means to the factory inspector, the employer and the general public. To the factory inspector it means hard work; to a few employers of minors it means 'meddlesomeness, interference, foolishness.' . . . To the general public the law means nothing at all, because the general public does not know of its existence.

"In enforcing such a law it is, therefore, necessary to assist the factory inspector, convert the skeptical employer, and educate an indifferent public.

"Another state law, conveying practically the same intention, prohibits the employment of minors under eighteen for more than ten hours a day. or fifty-five hours a week. It is scarcely necessary to point out that these two laws apply not only to factory hands, but also to cash girls, delivery boys and messenger boys. Most retail stores employ some minors under eighteen. The great temptation to infringement is just before Christmas, when many stores are kept open every evening for two weeks.

"The women who have determined to protect young people from the strain of overwork at Christmas time, are the members of the Ohio Consumers' League. Their work began in November, 1904. It was greatly reinforced by the Hon. John Morgan, chief inspector of workshops and factories for Ohio. Mr. Morgan sent instructions to his district deputies requiring them to watch for the illegal employment of minors at night. . . . The chief inspector for Cleveland mailed to every employer of minors in his district a printed notice of the child labor laws. He also accepted the assistance of a committee from the Consumers' League in a personal visitation of the Cleveland stores.

"The committee from the Consumers' League called on the merchants in delegations of one, two or three. In each store they asked for the manager, and inquired whether he had received the notice mailed by the factory inspector.

"In many instances the placard was in plain sight. Often the claim was made that no such notice had been seen. In such cases the committee offered to supply the deficiency with one from their own stock in hand. 'The inspector will make his rounds next week,' the manager was informed. 'He will look for the printed notice of the child labor laws. He will see to it that the laws are posted and that they are enforced.'"

The report called attention to some remarkable evasions of the law, and

that some employers thought that child labor laws were made for ornament only. The report continues:

"In the mind of such men a committee of women may awaken apprehension, the inspector's authority may arouse a vague alarm; but, after all, a further and culminating influence is required. This influence was supplied by the city solicitor, Mr. Newton D. Baker. Quite early in the campaign some one had suggested, 'Telephone to Mr. Baker.' One of our members did telephone to Mr. Baker, and never was a telephone message more effective. On his own initiative and at his own expense Mr. Baker printed an open letter to the chief of police, together with the chief's reply. This letter urged immediate prosecution of all violations of the child labor laws. Two thousand copies of this letter were circulated. To the stores that were visited we carried these letters. They fortified us. We were listened to not for our sake, but for the sake of the little bulletin that put the law into our hands. . . . The violator of the child labor law seldom fights. He threatens to do so, but he does not carry out his threat. In the first place, resistance gives him an undesired publicity, and in the second place he has no case."

Public meetings were another factor in the success of the campaign waged. Addresses or talks were given at various times during the year. These kept the subject constantly in the papers and before the public gaze.

During the year 1906 work has been continued on the same lines. The laws most easily enforced are those forbidding the employment of children under fourteen in any kind of work during school hours. Mr. McBane, the truant officer of the public schools, states that the number of children employed against the provisions of the laws that come within his domain has been diminished three-fourths. Children between fourteen and sixteen years of age are required to have schooling certificates from the truant officer showing that they are able to read and write the English language before they can go to work. Most of the cases that now come before him are violations of this law, and generally the child is nearly sixteen years old. Mr. McBane adds that the moral force exerted by the Consumers' League in awakening an enlightened public sentiment has been of the greatest value to him in his work.

The inspectors of workshops and factories report that they have prosecuted successfully nearly two hundred cases of violations of the law during the year 1906. During December, 1906, the month when most violations occur, they devote themselves almost entirely to the enforcement of the child labor laws. There are now few cases of violations of the laws, and those mostly of the school certificate law. The truant officers and the inspectors work together. Bowling alleys have received particular attention. The necessity of a schooling certificate for the child between fourteen and sixteen years of age has been a great protection to the child under fourteen. The inspectors acknowledge their great obligations to the Consumers' League not only for moral support, but for help in specific cases.

The present work of the Consumers' League with regard to the labor of children in Ohio may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. We create a demand for goods bearing the Consumers' label. In the manufacture of these goods no children under sixteen have been employed.

2. We advertise a white list of recommended stores in which no children are illegally employed.

3. We publish and circulate pamphlets containing reliable information about local conditions.

4. We publish and circulate brief summaries of state laws affecting working women and working children.

5. We are endeavoring to secure the enforcement of the laws by the public officials by calling the attention of the public to those laws, by calling the attention of the inspectors to specific cases of violation, and by educating the people to the enormity of child labor through the press and by means of public meetings.

6. We are endeavoring to secure the appointment of women inspectors to look after the interests of women and children.

7. We are endeavoring to prevent the passage of an amendment to the present law which now permits night work for boys under sixteen years of age and girls under eighteen. The proposed amendment would lower the age of girls from eighteen to sixteen, and would greatly impair the conditions of labor for working girls.

The measure of success that has attended our efforts in the past warrants us in looking hopefully to the future.

CATHARINE AVERY, *Chairman.*

REPORT OF THE CINCINNATI CONSUMERS' LEAGUE

The Consumers' League of Cincinnati comes before you this afternoon before it has reached its first birthday, so it will not be strange if we have not a great deal to say or a very long report of things accomplished to present to you. The league was organized ten months ago, on the 19th of February, 1906.

We have had the experience of all new organizations during this bewildering first year of our life—a year rich in opportunities and poor in the means of meeting and making the most of these opportunities. Very early in our career we learned that it is indeed a difficult thing to till the soil, sow the seed, and reap the harvest all in the same day. After we had spent some little time in trying to perfect our organization, we discovered that it was necessary to begin at the very alphabet, to tell everybody with whom we talked that the Consumers' League had nothing to do with the abatement of the smoke nuisance, and that it was not exclusively interested in pure food. We are still working away at the alphabet, and shall not lay aside the kindergarten method until the women of Cincinnati are letter-perfect.

Our first effort to introduce in this city goods having the Consumers'

League label met with failure. It was our plan to have an exhibit of these garments at the annual fall festival held in Cincinnati. The accredited manufacturers to whom we presented our plan were unwilling to share any part of the expense of such an undertaking, and the exhibit had to be given up.

We next turned our attention to the merchants of the city. To them we sent a list of ten or more questions relating to the employment of minors, the question of summer vacations and half holidays, fines, sanitary conditions, etc. From the thirty odd lists out we had perhaps a half dozen replies. The leading stores ignored us and our questions.

This attitude of the merchants whom we most wished to reach and to influence has brought us to the realization that our first business must be the upbuilding of the league in the point of members, and the creating of public opinion on the subject of local industrial conditions. We have, therefore, entered upon an "educational" campaign which has already begun to produce results. During the past month we have addressed seven clubs and four schools, and have made arrangements to speak on the work of the league, its aim and ideals, before almost every organization of women in the city. As the result of one of these addresses a branch league has just been formed at the Western College at Oxford, with sixty-three members enrolled. This enterprising chapter has already drafted a set of resolutions which have been sent to our representatives in Congress urging the passage of the bills in which we are all of us so much interested.

At the anti-tuberculosis exhibit held in Cincinnati in October we distributed ten thousand circulars advertising the work and aims of the league. We employed an attendant to explain to the crowds that daily passed through the rooms the photographs which were furnished by the National Consumers' League, showing sweat-shop conditions in New York City.

As the Christmas season drew near we threw our energies into an effort to lighten if possible the burden that annually falls upon hundreds of women and children in our shops through the indifference or negligence of tardy shoppers. The company controlling the street car advertising generously granted us space for a card urging early shopping. It was our privilege to share this space with the National Child Labor Committee, and to turn half our cards into announcements of the meetings of this week.

The Consumers' League wins its right to a place upon the platform to-day because it feels that the problem of child labor in factory and shop is its own especial problem. From time to time we have tried very definitely to bring before the factory inspectors such cases of violation of our child labor laws as have come under our observation as consumers. We have always received a most courteous response, and the assurance that the cases have been investigated officially by the local inspectors. The small number of our inspectors in so important a manufacturing city makes the enforcement of the child labor laws very difficult. We believe that the Consumers' League can be of great service to this cause of the children of our city by co-operating with the inspectors, with the juvenile court, and with the public schools. We offer our services to the Ohio Child Labor Committee, believing that it is

wise to work under the direction of the forces organized especially to solve this problem and root out this evil.

Because the work is at hand and because the workers are all too few, we appeal to-day for a larger membership. The enthusiasm of half a dozen people, or twenty people, although it is an excellent thing, a contagious thing, and goes, therefore, a long way, does not count for so much as the enthusiasm of six hundred people or a thousand people. We have trebled our membership since the day of our organization, but if we are to accomplish results that will tell we must treble it again and again, until every *consumer* in Cincinnati has realized the power of his influence as a consumer to control and ameliorate industrial conditions, and has allied himself with us to make an open fight against child labor and all other evil conditions that blot our industrial history.

GERALDINE GORDON, *President.*

REPORT FROM THE NATIONAL CONSUMERS' LEAGUE

The National Consumers' League is a sort of great grandmother of the National Child Labor Committee, and of the local Child Labor Committees, also.

Sixteen years ago, in New York City, the Consumers' League began the effort to stir, and educate, and organize the shopping public to a new consideration of the young workers. There was at that time in no state in this Union any legislative restrictions upon the hours of work of young clerks, cash boys, cash girls, bundle girls, delivery boys, messenger boys, and all that miscellaneous army of children who serve the shopping public directly and in sight. It was nine years before the league in New York City grew into a national effort to educate the shopping public, carrying into the imagination of the public where its eye could not go beyond the store, into the factory, bringing into manufacture the same principle which the league had been applying to the stores, and calling to the attention of the shopping public the rights of those who serve them.

Persuasion alone was not powerful enough. It appeared that even though all the most humane employers and all the most enlightened shoppers should get together and make as much public opinion as they could, there would still be an incredible number of the goats separated from the sheep. The Consumers' League found itself driven to strive for legislation as every philanthropic body does find itself driven to striving for legislation. It secured information on the relation of the young employee to his direct employer, the manufacturer, the merchant, the telegraph company, and his indirect and far more ruthless employer, the thoughtless public. And for a number of years before the formation of the National Child Labor Committee, the Consumers' League had been furnishing material, publishing all such trustworthy information as we could get together concerning the legislation of

the different states; and revealing the miserable lack of official information covering the situation.

I think that it is not too much to claim that, although strictly speaking we do not properly belong on this platform at all, we yet have the claim of a hard-working grandmother who did plan, a good many years ago, for the greater work which the younger generation of organizations is now carrying on.

In the experience of the Child Labor Committee it is found that the great thing to do is to educate public opinion, and many reputable people sometimes, wearying of this, say to themselves, "What have I personally to do with this? I am not an employer. I am not keeping any children working at night or under fourteen years of age, or before they can read and write. I have enough other sins to answer for, why should I take the responsibility for this thing?" Then the Consumers' League persistently tries to bring home the fact that no one is free to-day from participating in this particular evil.

There is no one in this room at this moment, I am convinced, who is not clothed, in part at least, with the product of the labor of young children. That is what we are working for, to bring that point home and make it plain to all the people. Young children pick the cotton that we are wearing; they help to spin it. They help to stitch it in the factories. They have to do with the distribution of all our goods. They are in the shoe factories. They are in the garment trades by thousands. They are in the hat factories, and yesterday, on the street here in Cincinnati, I saw a very small boy carrying home frames and lining, and velvet, for what are evidently going to be very good-looking bonnets for the women in Cincinnati to wear. They will have been finished under the sweating system. There is no article of our apparel except precious lace and fine jewelry—cut stones—of which we can be morally certain at any moment that it does not incorporate the labor of young children. Thus to every shopper in the United States, man or woman, the Consumers' League can truthfully say, "Thou art the man; thou art the woman!" We are all buying the product of the labor of these children about whom we are conferring."

FLORENCE KELLEY, *Secretary.*

ABSTRACT OF REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE ON THE SECOND YEAR'S WORK, ENDED SEPTEMBER 30, 1906

Legislation.—Last year was the off year in the biennial meetings of state legislatures. Fourteen state legislatures, however, were in session, and in all but three child labor legislation was under discussion. Additional protection for children was obtained in Massachusetts, New York, Georgia, Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana and Maryland. Georgia and Iowa, after discussion,

agitation and work covering several years, practically for the first time joined the list of states which legislate for their working children. Kentucky and Maryland made important changes which promise more effective regulation than they had before. Massachusetts and New York raised their standard by defining the educational test in the first and further restricting night work in the second. Louisiana made a beginning in legislation to take effect January 1, 1907, but applicable only to cities and towns of over 10,000 persons.

The National Committee co-operated in all of this work through distribution of literature, correspondence and general support. In Iowa it was instrumental in bringing together into a state committee the various elements that had, unorganized, struggled for years without success. In Maryland, Georgia and Kentucky representatives of our committee appeared before the legislative assemblies in active support of the bills, and the work of our southern office, opened in Atlanta early in 1906, was concentrated on the situation in Georgia, which presented the most difficult legislative battle that has yet been fought for the protection of children in this country.

Proposed legislation in Mississippi, New Jersey, Ohio and Virginia failed of passage. Mississippi and Virginia require a large educational campaign. The night work clause which is desired in the New Jersey law is opposed by the glass industry. The minor changes asked for by our strong Ohio State Committee, in what is already a good law, will be obtained in due time.

In Congress, a bill to incorporate our National Committee passed the Senate and is pending in the House. Good progress was made toward securing a model child labor law for the District of Columbia, a bill having passed the House and now pending in the Senate. We worked through the Citizens' District of Columbia Child Labor Committee, organized through our efforts, for this measure. We also actively supported bills for compulsory education and for a national investigation of the condition of working women and children, and directly for a National Children's Bureau (the Crane-Gardner bill), introduced at our request.

Enforcement.—Everywhere the greatest need has been to secure better enforcement of existing child labor legislation and to prevent evasion of the law, which is now so general in many states. This is the hardest task, demanding better organization of state and local bodies, and, above all, that slow and general education of public sentiment which alone will enable officials who are struggling to do their duty in enforcing the law to get the necessary support from the courts and in legislative appropriations from their states.

Publicity.—A large share of the efforts of our committee during the past has been spent in securing wider publicity for the facts which we have gathered and the volume of which is increasing. The country is not yet alive to the inroad that child labor is making in the American home and in our most cherished institutions. The public schools are growing in efficiency and must not be robbed of the material which will enable them to fulfil their mission to teach all the children of the nation.

Literature and Meetings.—The second annual meeting of the National Committee, held in Washington, December, 1905, brought together many interesting papers and reports on child labor conditions, which have been circulated both in the form of an annual volume and in separate pamphlets, together with other publications of the committee. Over 80,000 pamphlets, aggregating 800,000 pages of literature, have thus been distributed. Meetings have been held in practically every state in the Union, at which the National Committee has been represented and the work of the executive officers has required many thousand miles of travel and included over 100 formal addresses in addition to numerous conferences and smaller meetings. Requests for literature and information have come from several hundred correspondents, and many of these requests have required us to make special investigations.

Membership.—During the year an associate membership was organized, made up as follows: 1. Guarantors, or those who contribute to the financial support of the committee for any one fiscial year the sum of $100 or over 2. Sustaining Members, being those who contribute $25 or over, but less than $100. 3. Associates, who contribute less than $25, but at least the minimum fee of $2, which is intended to cover merely the proportionate cost of preparation and distribution of such literature as is sent to all members. In response to appeals for membership we have received on September 30th acceptances from 981 persons, whose total contributions aggregated for the year the sum of $4,973.10. The results are gratifying, but at least 10,000 members are needed to properly sustain the work that this committee has voluntarily undertaken to do and for the satisfactory prosecution of which we are dependent upon voluntary contributions.

The total expense of the committee for the second fiscal year amounted to $22,098.65, which, by strict economy, accomplished the work laid out for the year for about $3,000 less than the estimated budget. The estimates for the third year, in order to provide for a deficit of $1,500 still owing from the first year, and without providing for any pronounced enlargement of our work, will require the sum of $25,000.

The results thus far attained, the publicity that has been given to this great and important cause, and the fact that it is now a national problem discussed in every part of the country, imposes on us new obligations, and promises far-reaching remedies in case we meet them. The fact that child labor is apparently on the increase for the country as a whole and for all occupations collectively considered, and is certainly on the marked increase in many of our industrial states and in occupations that are particularly harmful to the health, morals and education of the children who enter them, is a challenge to every decent and right-thinking American.

SAMUEL MCCUNE LINDSAY, *Secretary.*

TREASURER'S REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDING SEPTEMBER 30, 1906.

[*As examined, audited and found correct by Haskins & Sells, of New York, Certified Public Accountants.*]

DEBITS.

Cash on hand and in bank October 1, 1905		$106.14
Receipts.		
Paid subscriptions	$20,383.91	
Sales of literature	124.02	
Sales of stationery and office supplies	14.22	
Miscellaneous receipts	32.00	
Loans	1,500.00	
		22,054.15
Total debits		$22,160.29

CREDITS.

Expenses.		
Salaries, administrative, $6,000; investigations, $3,500; clerks and stenographers, $1,827.30; total	$11,327.30	
Stationery and office supplies	530.75	
Postage	1,154.45	
Investigation expenses, miscellaneous	261.80	
Rent	771.50	
Traveling expenses	489.87	
" " investigations	500.00	
Printing	1,427.17	
Telephone	146.43	
General expenses	356.29	
		$16,965.56
Miscellaneous.		
Loans repaid	$4,750.00	
Special entertainment	25.64	
Furniture and fixtures	320.45	
Stationery and office supplies on hand	15.35	
For account of North Carolina Child Labor Committee	21.65	
		5,133.09
		$22,098.65
Cash on hand and in bank September 30, 1906		$61.64

ASSETS.

Current assets: Cash on hand and in bank, $61.64; accounts receivable, North Carolina Child Labor Committee, $21.65; total..	$83.29
Office furniture and fixtures, stationery and office supplies.....	707.25
Current deficit	945.32
Total	$1,735.86

LIABILITIES.

Loans payable—V. Everit Macy	$1,500.00
Accounts payable	207.38
Special entertainment fund	28.48
	$1,735.86

The Struggle Against Preventable Diseases

Typhoid and Tuberculosis

A SYMPOSIUM

Glasgow, Scotland.—ROBERT CRAWFORD, LL.D., Glasgow.
New York.—J. S. BILLINGS, JR., M.D., City of New York.
Philadelphia.—A. C. ABBOTT, M.D., Philadelphia.
Buffalo.—PROF. A. C. RICHARDSON, Buffalo, N. Y.
Cincinnati.—MAX B. May, Cincinnati, O.
Detroit.—DELOS F. WILCOX, Ph.D., Detroit, Mich.
Washington, D. C.—GEORGE S. WILSON, Washington, D. C.
Providence.—FRANK E. LAKEY, Providence, R. I.

CITY OF GLASGOW.

By ROBERT CRAWFORD, LL.D., Ex-Councillor, Ex-Burgh Magistrate, Ex-Chairman of the Committee on Health of Glasgow, Member for Ten Years of Committee on Street Railways, Justice of the Peace and Deputy Lieutenant of the County of the City of Glasgow.

The history of municipal action in relation to infectious diseases is well illustrated by the movement of enteric fever in Glasgow during the last thirty or forty years.

Until the passing of the infectious diseases compulsory notification act, in 1889, which brought early knowledge of the occurrence of these diseases to the local authority, it was only by a close scrutiny of the causes of deaths which had been registered or a friendly intimation received by the corporation medical officer from private practitioners that the work of suppression or prevention could be carried on.

The cholera experiences of the first half of the century had shown that water might under some circumstances of excrementary pollution become a carrier of infection, and in 1858 the theory was applied to the distribution of enteric fever at Penrith by Dr. William Taylor. Further support was

given to the suggestion by an outbreak in 1870 (Ballard), and the Leeds cases in 1872 (Robinson); while in 1870 Professor Bell had related a similar association with scarlet fever at St. Andrews. In 1873 an outbreak of enteric fever in the Parkhead District of Glasgow afforded an opportunity of tracing the infection to precedent cases in a dairyman's family, and subsequent outbreaks served to show the necessity for reforming the conditions of dairy farming. The introduction of a pure water supply from Loch Katrine, which was substituted for Clyde water in 1859, had tended permanently to lower the mean line of diarrhœal fatality in Glasgow, but this decrease had been unequally distributed over the various ages of life, and was most marked at ages of five years and upwards. Impure water was, therefore, less active in the production of diarrhœal diseases in infants and young children than in those of older years. But the advantages of a pure water supply might be counteracted by extraneous causes. Isolated groups of population, and especially country farm houses, were still dependent upon local springs liable to pollution, and when this unprotected supply became contaminated with specific infection, milk epidemics of enteric fever could attain considerable magnitude within the area of Glasgow's pure water supply. The reduction of enteric fever, therefore, in a town otherwise well watered and sewered could only be attained by acting directly on the immediate producer of milk supply, to wit, the dairy farmer, and the sanitation of dairy farms was seen to be as important for the town consumer as any other unsanitary conditions which affected or arose from his more immediate surroundings.

It became, therefore, very important to educate the dairy farmer and the milk purveyor regarding the essential requirements of hygienic milk production. In both cases it was a process of education, stimulated by the commercial relations between the buyer and seller. If the infection spread in a milk supply, the business of a milk purveyor was ruined. The purveyor's only safe course was to obtain milk from a farm which presented a high standard of sanitary equipment, and dairy technique: the farmer who aimed at any other found himself without a market for his product. But in addition to this, where enteric fever had obtained a lodgment in sections of a city population where sanitation was at a low level, and nuisances were chronic, persistent cleansing of ashpits, courts, and the immediate surroundings of houses generally was seen to be necessary. This implied a thoroughly equipped city cleansing department as well as the exercise of daily sanitary supervision. On these aspects of the question, therefore, the main work of prevention rested, but it was necessary, further, for the municipality to make provision for such cases of enteric fever as occurred, and the following table well illustrates not only the decreasing prevalence of the disease, but also the ready manner in which the population availed themselves of the provision of municipal and free hospital accommodation in the increasing proportion of the total deaths occurring in hospital from this disease:

Enteric Fever.

Period.	Total deaths.	No. of deaths in hospital.	Death rate per million.	Per cent of Deaths in hospitals to total deaths.
1865-1869	1,140	79	510	7
1870-1874	1,111	179	453	16
1875-1879	1,097	264	4.6	25
1880-1884	1,032	379	399	37
1885-1889	497	210	182	42
1890-1894	641	421	205	66
1895-1899	847	677	189	79
1900-1904	704	600	155	87
1905	53	45	67	85

The declining prevalence of enteric fever is shown by the following table, which simply indicates the numbers notified during the years 1892-1905, and from January to November, 1906:

Glasgow. Enteric Fever. Number of Cases Notified.

Year.	No. of Cases.	Year.	No. of Cases.
1892	563	1900	1,007
1893	715	1901	1,251
1894	792	1902	700
1895	799	1903	937
1896	701	1904	621
1897	907	1905	454
1898	1,210	1906, Jan. to Nov.	327
1899	1,080		

Consumption.—It may be said generally that the position of consumption in relation to public health administration is presently in a condition of transition. Until recent years no concentrated effort has been directed specially against the disease, and yet in the country generally it has undergone a remarkable diminution, and in the City of Glasgow this is equal to 56 per cent in the course of the last forty years. How much of this is due to the increased wellbeing both in matters of food and comfort generally can scarcely be stated with any degree of precision. Better houses, a higher standard of living, and probably the increased consumption of butcher meat, have all played their part; but the drying of sub-soils by efficient underdrainage, removal of slums, and the substitution of wider streets, providing more light and purer air, are factors which cannot be left out of account. The almost complete immunity of nomad tribes to tuberculosis suggests that mankind is not susceptible to the disease except under artificial conditions of life, and some part of this original immunity would appear to have been restored to city populations living under modern sanitary conditions.

In addition to this, however, the striking change which has occurred in the sex incidence of the disease, suggesting, as it does, the part played by factory legislation in promoting reduction among women, also supplies a further illustration of the causes which have produced the general reduction to which I have adverted. But tuberculosis has a social as well as a sanitary aspect. Few diseases produce such disastrous effects, short of death, on family life. Not only is the patient incapacitated for strenuous work, he must in many cases be maintained for years, and during this period the conditions of the home may be such that others of the family are infected.

In a recent inquiry it was found that in about one-half of the cases which were inquired into the precautions taken against sputum infection were incomplete, and that where these cases occurred in one apartment house the risk of spread to other members of the family was almost unavoidable. Many towns have systems of voluntary notification, and generally it is coming to be admitted that before specific measures can be taken for the suppression of the disease a knowledge of its incidence is necessary. And for this reason the Glasgow Corporation recently adopted the principle of compulsory notification. For ten years it has been the custom to disinfect the rooms, clothing, etc., of consumptives at death and during the currency of the disease. Voluntary effort has meanwhile supplied facilities for the treatment of a limited number of patients in the early stages, and by means of tuberculosis dispensaries touch has been maintained between the municipality and certain patients.

Social Factors in the Spread of Tuberculosis.—Defective housing conditions, with concomitant intemperance and occupational risks reveal the essential relationship between tuberculosis and poverty. Neglect of precaution against sputum increases as the available house-room diminishes, until we reach 65 per cent of the cases in lodging houses, who take no precaution whatever. For effective prevention, each case as it occurs should be made the rallying point of administrative action, so that the physical circumstances of faulty structure and defective ventilation, whether in house or workshop, which it reveals, may be remedied. Action in this direction is quite as necessary as education in precautionary methods.

Classification of Cases.—For administrative purposes, some classification is necessary, but this must, obviously, have reference rather to the object in view than to the pathological condition present. It cannot be too frequently reiterated that the prevention of phthisis will only be accomplished by removal of the conditions which foster it. Phthisis prevails in our midst because of the low standard of housing we are still perforce compelled to accept. No provision of sanatoria for early cases, or of homes of rest for the very advanced, will, in the least degree, abate the necessity for keeping this steadfastly in view. Forms of individual relief are useful and valuable adjuncts—they may provide for the segregation of the actively infective, or place the incipient case in the way of improvement—but the reduction of phthisis in the past has proceeded without organized help of either kind. With the modern views regarding the part played by sputum, and especially

by droplet infection, in spreading the disease, however, some supervision of the individual may reasonably be added; and the form which this supervision should take suggests the administrative classification necessary.

Most urgently requiring administrative supervision, there must, I think, be placed first those patients where cough is urgent and expectoration profuse, and where the size of the house or the conditions of its occupancy establish for the other inmates a risk of infection. Should it be impossible to meet this by obtaining observance of the relatively simple precautions which are necessary, it would be a perfectly logical development of administrative supervision to offer the patient an opportunity of removal, because we should thereby remove a center of infection. But removal to hospital in the ordinary sense is not applicable. A patient removed for any of the infectious diseases usually dealt with leaves his home with the prospect of returning well. Here there is no such prospect, and removal could only be urged on the plea of unavoidable risk to the remaining inmates; and even then the complete picture is only supplied by the conception of district homes, to which relatives would have ready and convenient access.

The Question of Sanatorium Treatment.—So far administrative action proceeds on a definite basis. It is directed towards the removal of center of infection when other means of controlling it fail. To proceed beyond this is to enter the field of experiment.

The general question of the utility of sanatorium treatment need not here detain us. Its value in selected cases and under given conditions is admitted. Can we select the cases and ensure the conditions, especially those which demand attention after the patient's dismissal? We have not in this country any organization comparable to the Imperial Insurance Department of Germany, which is so frequently urged as an example to be followed. Under it the insurance institutions are bound to assist with money the relatives of any sick person undergoing treatment, if, until then, they were supported by his earnings. In addition, effort which appears to be frequently successful, is made to procure suitable accommodation and work for the patient after his discharge. All this presupposes an economic organization which does not exist in this country.

Short of complete restoration to health the sanatorium method of treatment has been modified and adapted to educative purposes, so that the consumptive may thereby obtain some experience which he may turn to useful account in his own home. And so we have systems of continued but short residence, day residence, or night residence, each with its advocates, but with few data whereby to estimate their economic value for administrative purposes.

Few cases admitted to a sanatorium fail to respond to the improved housing and feeding there provided.

Disinfection of Public Conveyances, Schools, and Places of Public Resort.—The need for this arises from the practice of indiscriminate spitting. Abatement of this practice can only be expected when educational advancement has ensured a more complete attention to the conditions upon which

infection depends. In the tramway cars spitting is already dealt with by by-laws, and many railway companies placard their carriages, stations, and retiring rooms with warnings against the practice. It is therefore by stimulation of public opinion to an appreciation of the special risks which may lurk behind simple dirtiness that any extensive reform in habits of this sort may be expected. Persistence in spitting on the floor of any place of assembly should render the offender liable to summary eviction. Actual disinfection by the local authority should be restricted to places where probability of definite infection can be established; indeed, it is doubtful whether the clauses of the existing acts could be applied in any wider sense. Schools are swept daily (although dry dusting has certain objections of its own) and washed periodically. Churches undergo a weekly sweeping. In some of the theaters considerable effort at maintaining cleanliness seems to be made.

But the circumstances which have been already referred to, showing the close association between infectivity and efficient ventilation, reveal the need for a special scrutiny of the provision made for the thorough ventilation of rooms in all plans of new houses submitted to the Dean of Guild Court, while definite effort is required to secure the ventilation of all places of assembly by measures which will be effective during the time they are in use.

Tuberculosis Dispensaries.—For executive purposes these, I think, should be ranked with the provision for isolating advanced cases as of the first importance.

Their organization should combine home supervision with treatment of the patient, and they should be able to ensure his admission to a sanatorium when this is necessary.

Their development on effective lines will, however, depend on the facilities which they have at their command for benefiting the individual patient, and co-operation between the local authority and philanthropic agencies appears to offer the most likely method of accomplishing this.

CITY OF NEW YORK.

By J. S. Billings, Jr., M.D., Chief of Division of Communicable Diseases, Department of Health, New York City.

During the past ten years the prevalence of typhoid fever and tuberculosis in New York City has been sensibly decreased. In 1895 there were 322 deaths from typhoid in Manhattan and the Bronx (the old City of New York), a death rate of 1.7 per 10.000 of population. During 1905, although the population of those two boroughs had increased almost 25 per cent, yet the number of deaths was only 310 and the death rate 1.2.

The one great remedy for typhoid fever—namely, filtration of the water

supply—has as yet not been introduced in New York City. Failing that, the above figures show what can be accomplished by supervision of the milk supply, instruction of physicians and laymen as to the importance of disinfection of the discharges from cases of typhoid fever, etc.

The various watersheds from which New York City draws its water are well guarded; but no matter how careful a watch is kept over them, chances for contamination are bound to occur.

The reporting of cases of typhoid fever to the Department of Health is compulsory, and fully 95 per cent of all recognized cases are so reported. A complete history is obtained in each case—not only of the course of the disease, but as to the possible sources of infection and all such sources are most carefully investigated. Milk stores and oyster stores are visited; unsanitary conditions of the patients' homes are corrected; families of the patients are instructed, verbally and by circular, as to the danger of direct contraction of the disease and the precautions which should be observed and, finally, on termination of the case the bedding is removed by the Department of Health, disinfected and returned.

Tuberculosis.—The problem here is much more difficult than is the case with typhoid fever. The percentage of cases reported to the department is lower, although it is increasing rapidly each year.

There are many reasons for this: among them that the disease is less readily recognized; does not confine the patient to bed; and, lastly, the patient is unwilling to have it known that he has consumption. Nevertheless, a great deal has been done. During 1895 there were 6,200 deaths from all forms of tuberculosis—a death rate of 3.3. During 1905, ten years later, only 6,300 deaths occurred, although the population had increased about one-fourth, and the death rate was reduced to 2.6.

The following measures have probably been of assistance in bringing about this result: the disinfection and renovation of premises previously occupied by persons suffering from pulmonary tuberculosis; the provision of hospital care and charitable aid in suitable cases; the removal of incipient cases to sanatoria outside the city; the removal of advanced cases to hospital, whether with their consent or no; the establishment of free dispensaries where patients can obtain treatment, advice and suitable diet (milk and eggs), and, finally, the education of the general public as to the nature of the disease, the precautions to be taken against its spread; the advisability of institutional and sanatoria treatment, etc.

PHILADELPHIA.

By A. C. Abbott, M.D., Chief of the Bureau of Health, Philadelphia.

In the year 1903, the death rates from typhoid fever per 100,000 of population for fifteen cities located in various parts of the country were:

Pittsburg	137	Baltimore	36
Cleveland	114	Chicago	32
Philadelphia	70	Brooklyn	21
Atlanta	59	Boston	20
Washington, D. C.	49	Providence, R. I.	20
St. Louis	47	New York	18
Cincinnati	45	Detroit	17
New Orleans	40		

During the thirteen years from 1890 to 1903 the lowest annual death rate per 100,000 of population from typhoid fever in Philadelphia was 32 in 1894; the highest was 75 in 1899, and the average for the period was 46.6.

With such death rates and the annual incidence of so preventable a disease as typhoid fever amounting to from 6,000 to 7,000 cases in a city having a little less than a million and a half population, it strikes the casual observer as high time for something to be done to check it.

After years of indecision, due in part to doubt as to the cause; in part to doubt as to the best means of prevention, and in part to the uncertainty of the expense involved, Philadelphia has at last attacked the problem. The lines of attack adopted by the municipality have been projected principally in *two* directions, viz.: on the one hand toward the water supply, on the other toward the milk supply of the city. For a long time, singular as it seems to one acquainted with the facts, difficulty was experienced in convincing some of the citizens that the water supply is at fault; but with the accumulation of carefully collected evidence, doubts disappeared, and opinion in favor of either a new water supply or the adoption of appropriate measures for the purification of the old supply became unanimous. It was, therefore, decided to authorize the instalment of a system of filtration that would be of a character adequate to meet the demands both of the public health and the public convenience.

Eliminating details, it suffices to say that the scheme when finally adopted provided for the slow filtration of the water through sand beds. There were to be three filtering stations, two located on the Schuylkill River and one on the Delaware River, using the water of the respective streams. Up to the present time, two of the three stations have been put in operation, viz.: the Roxborough, supplying filtered water to the Twenty-first, Twenty-second and a small portion of the Thirty-eighth and Forty-second Wards, embracing a total population of a little over 100,000 souls; and that known as the Belmont Filtering Station, supplying all that portion of the city lying to the west of the Schuylkill River, and known as West Philadelphia, comprising the Twenty-fourth, Twenty-seventh, Thirty-fourth and a part of the Fortieth Wards, a total population of 128,933 souls.

Together, the Roxborough and the Belmont Stations have a capacity of about 97,000,000 gallons daily, when running at the customary rate.

The third station, the largest, located at Torresdale, on the Delaware

River, and not yet completed, will, when finished, have a capacity of 248,000,000 gallons daily. It is one of the largest, if not the largest, plant of the kind in existence. It is designed to supply all that portion of the city not covered by the Belmont and Roxborough Stations. Together, the three stations will deliver water at the rate of 230 gallons of filtered water per person per day for a population of a million and a half people.

The appropriations thus far made to meet the cost of construction aggregate about $22,000,000, and it is possible that from $3,000,000 to $4,000,000 more will be necessary to completion. At first glance this seems a big outlay, but if three-fourths of the number of cases of typhoid fever can be prevented, and this is a much lower estimate than results thus far obtained would indicate, it is a good investment from every standpoint.

As to the results thus far observed in those districts receiving filtered water:

During 1905 there were 6,451 cases of typhoid fever in the city. There were 192 cases in the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Wards of the Roxborough filtration district, and 15 cases among the 41,424 people getting filtered water from the Belmont filtration plant. In other words, in the city, *as a whole,* there occurred as a weekly average 8.32 cases of the disease to each 100,000 of population, while in the Roxborough district there were 3.51, and in the Belmont filtration district 0.71 per 100,000 of population.

For the first ten months of the present year 8,223 cases of typhoid fever have been reported for the city as a whole, making an average weekly rate per 100,000 of population of 12.7, while from Roxborough (Twenty-first and Twenty-second Wards) there have been 260 cases, or 5.4 per 100,000 of population. In the Belmont district two periods must be considered, viz.: the first, corresponding to the months of January, February, March and the first two weeks of April, when filtered water was distributed to the same district as in 1905; and the second, from the middle of April, when the filtration district was increased to include 81,372 souls, to November 1st. In the first period 8 cases in all, or 1.3 per 100,000, were recorded as a weekly average, while in the second period (*i. e.,* from April 13th to November 1st, 1906), 104, or 4.5 per 100,000 of population, are recorded as a weekly average. In other words, the reduction in the disease in 1905 in the filtered water districts was: in Roxborough (Twenty-first and Twenty-second Wards). 57.8 per cent, and in West Philadelphia, 91.5 per cent, while for the first ten months of 1906 the reductions in the same districts were 58 per cent in Roxborough, 90 per cent in the original filtered water district of West Philadelphia, and 65 per cent in the extended district.

It is fair to presume that the reductions in both years as above noted will be markedly increased when the entire city is supplied with properly filtered water. At the present time many residents of both filtration districts spend their days in portions of the city still supplied with polluted water. They are, therefore, exposed to its dangers during those hours.

Believing milk to be a potent factor in the dissemination of typhoid

fever, the Bureau of Health has given special attention to the subject. The plan of supervision may be briefly described as follows:

A systematic investigation is made of the circumstances surrounding every case of the disease reported to the bureau. Among other data required are the location and place of residence of the patient, the location of his place of occupation or school, as the case may be; the character of water used in his house and in his place of employment (*i. e.*, filtered, boiled or raw); the name and address of his milk dealer; the length of time that the patient has been ill; and his whereabouts for the preceding month is ascertained. As these reports are brought into the office upon appropriately printed slips they are classified and filed.

Each day they are scanned with the view of determining if any unusual number are upon the route or routes of a single milk dealer. If such evidence be forthcoming—and such is occasionaly the case—the establishment of the milk dealer is carefully inspected. If anyone be found in the house suffering from intestinal disorder of any character whatsoever, or if there be in the milk dealer's employ anyone coming from a house in which typhoid fever exists, the dealer is prohibited from selling milk so long as the case remains in his shop or the suspicious employee is kept in the business. If the case be removed to the hospital, the dealer is permitted to resume business after the destruction of all milk in his establishment, and the disinfection of his place and all his apparatus. If there be no illness nor suspicious person in the shop of the retailer, we consult our directory of dairymen in this and adjoining states (a special card catalogue kept in the office) and discover the names and addresses of the producers supplying milk to the retailer in the city. The dairies of such producers are all in turn inspected, and if any are found in a condition prejudicial to health, or harboring transmissible diseases, they are debarred from shipping milk until such steps are taken as to properly safeguard the public health.

By this system we have detected during the past three years not less than five important circumscribed outbreaks of typhoid fever in the city that were certainly traceable to infected milk.

By due attention to the filtration of our entire water supply, and systematic sanitary control of the milk supply, aside from all other appropriate measures, it is not an exaggeration to predict a reduction of at least 85 per cent in the frequency of typhoid in Philadelphia.

BUFFALO, N. Y.

By Prof. A. C. Richardson, Buffalo, N. Y.

The prevalence of typhoid and tuberculosis in Buffalo during the past ten years may be judged from the following table, taken from the report of the Department of Health for the year ending December 31, 1905:

	Typhoid.	*Tuberculosis.*		*Typhoid.*	*Tuberculosis.*
1896	1.9	11.8	1901 -.....	2.7	13.3
1897	1.9	11.9	1902	3.4	12.9
1898	2.7	11.5	1903	3.5	12.3
1899	2.3	12.4	1904	2.2	12.9
1900	2.5	12.0	1905	2.2	12.1

The intake of the city's water works is situated in Niagara River, at a point where the current flows at the rate of nine miles an hour, and the city has an intercepting trunk sewer which empties into the river a quarter of a mile below this intake. But this sewer, unfortunately, does not receive *all* the city's drainage. A good deal of it goes into Buffalo River, which empties into the harbor a mile or so above the intake. At first this gave no trouble, but within the last ten years some four miles of new breakwaters have been built, and now, at some seasons of the year, when high water and easterly gales prevail, some of this contaminated water is carried out into the lake far enough to get carried down into the intake. To this fact is attributed the prevalence of typhoid in Buffalo, such as it is.

By way of a remedy, it is proposed to put a new intake out into the lake far enough to avoid taking in any of the city's sewage under any conditions of weather, and also to acquire land enough along the water front near the present water works to erect a filtering plant, should this prove necessary hereafter. Furthermore, a close watch is kept on the water supply by the city bacteriologist, and warnings to boil all drinking water are issued in the press from time to time as seems necessary. Circulars of instruction in the care of typhoid patients are also printed and sent to every family in which a case of typhoid occurs, and after a death the house is disinfected by the city fumigators without charge to the occupants.

To prevent further spread of tuberculosis, the education of the people is relied upon. There is a city ordinance which forbids spitting in street cars under penalty of a fine. This ordinance is posted in every car, and the observance of it is becoming noticeably more strict. Circulars of information in regard to the care of tuberculous patients, disinfection, etc., are printed and distributed to all who will take them and are also sent to every house from which a case is reported, physicians being required by law to report every case coming under their notice. Every house in which a death from consumption occurs is carefully disinfected and fumigated by the city.

CINCINNATI.

By Max B. May, Cincinnati, Ohio.[1]

Cincinnati, unfortunately, has suffered much from the typhoid and the white plague. The prevalence of the former disease is due to the bad water supply, the water used being taken from the river at a point above which intake much sewerage flows into the river.

[1] The statistics and other data were obtained from Dr. Samuel E. Allen.

The typhoid fever cases from 1896 to 1905 are as follows:

Year.	*Cases.*	*Deaths.*	*Year.*	*Cases.*	*Deaths.*
1896	553	164	1901	729	180
1897	305	101	1902	1,038	206
1898	443	105	1903	150	144
1899	415	122	1904	1,646	270
1900	522	119	1905	746	155

The present efficient health officer is doing all in his power to educate the public as to the cause and prevention of this disease. As soon as a case of typhoid is reported the following circular, setting forth the main causes of the disease and method of prevention, is sent to the house of the sick:

"Typhoid fever is a disease brought about by your own or somebody else's uncleanliness. It is a disease of the intestinal canal. It is caused directly by the water or milk you drink, or the food you eat, getting poisoned with the discharges from persons ill with the disease—and in no other way. It is most easily acquired by those who suffer from constipation. Therefore, keep the bowels open and regular.

"Water and milk are the two articles most frequently poisoned by typhoid. Heat kills the typhoid poison. Therefore, boil all drinking water ten minutes. Scald all milk and cream, especially that intended for the young. Dirty hands may also carry the typhoid poison. Therefore, wash your hands carefully before handling any article of food or drink. Food gets poisoned, especially green stuff, by being manured with night soil, by flies crawling over it, or by contaminated dust from the street, or by being washed or watered with polluted water. Therefore, wash all vegetables and fruit intended to be eaten raw with boiled water. Keep flies out of the house and shops. Keep food supplies covered, so that flies cannot have access to them.

"If all the discharges from every case of typhoid were disinfected, there would be no more typhoid in the world. Therefore, if you have a case of typhoid in the family, disinfect every discharge, both of bowels and bladder. Do it from a sense of duty to your neighbors and to protect others in your own family. Sulphate of copper (blue vitrol) is the best typhoid disinfectant. One pound costs about ten cents, and can be dissolved in two and one-half gallons of water. (Heat may be necessary for thorough solution.) Keep a pint of this in all vessels used for discharges from the bowels and bladder. Stir the contents after using and let stand for fifteen minutes, and the poison will be destroyed. Do this with every discharge, and the patient cannot infect others.

"Clean up about your house and premises. Cleanly surroundings mean cleanly people. Typhoid fever is the filth disease. Bad odors, dirty yards, dirty houses, bad ventilation, cause lower human resistance and render you more liable to contract the disease. Therefore, be clean in every detail of housekeeping."

Tuberculosis is naturally more prevalent and is the cause of more deaths than any other disease. The number of deaths during the past decade is as follows:

Year.	*Deaths.*	*Per cent of total deaths.*	*Year.*	*Deaths.*	*Per cent of total deaths.*
1895	805	13.2	1901	826	13.4
1896	822	13.8	1902	736	12.8
1897	760	13.6	1903	872	14.0
1898	718	12.8	1904	999	14.19
1899	744	13.2	1905	981	15.0
1900	714	13.19			

However, an active movement has been started here to avoid and cure this dread disease. Within the near future an Anti-Tuberculosis League will be formed, the object of which will be to teach the people by means of lectures and demonstrations how to avoid and cure the white plague. During the last two weeks of October the National Anti-Tuberculosis League had its exhibits in this city, and its daily lectures were largely attended and much good was accomplished.

There is also in vogue here the system of visiting nurses, who instruct patients in their homes as to the manner and necessity of caring for themselves and their families.

DETROIT, MICH.

By Delos F. Wilcox, Ph.D., Secretary Detroit Municipal League.

Detroit is fortunate in its water supply, and it is believed that very little of the typhoid fever in the city comes from this source. During the last fifteen years, the average number of deaths from this disease has been between fifty and sixty. There has been no perceptible increase with the growth of the city during this time.

It is believed that most of the cases of typhoid fever in Detroit are contracted elsewhere. People often come down with this disease upon their return from vacations where they have been drinking surface well water.

The question of the spread of this disease by means of flies is considered important. The Board of Health has issued, and distributes wherever needed, a circular with suggestions of precautionary measures to prevent typhoid fever and with other suggestions for the care of typhoid cases. The Board advises for the prevention of this disease:

1. To heat the water and milk to a temperature of 160 degrees Fahrenheit for at least fifteen minutes before drinking it. It should be cooled, if at all, not by the addition of ice, but by being placed in the ice chest in a vessel that has been previously scalded.

2. To protect all eatables against flies as far as possible.

3. To pour boiling water over all green vegetables used as salads.

As precautions to be taken in cases where typhoid fever has invaded a household, the board recommends the following:

1. The disinfection of all excretions of the body.

2. The disinfection of all body and bed clothing of the patient and all towels, napkins, etc., in a three per cent solution of carbolic acid in water.

3. The scalding of all eating utensils used by the patient with each meal.

4. The nurse should carefully disinfect her hands after attending the patient.

5. All articles of little value used upon the patient for cleanliness should be burned as soon as used.

The situation in Detroit with reference to tuberculosis is much more serious. The number of deaths from this cause during the past six years is shown in the following table:

1900-1901	353	1903-1904	383
1901-1902	376	1904-1905	415
1902-1903	338	1905-1906	457

The increase in population during the last six years has been between twenty and twenty-five per cent, while the increase in the number of deaths from tuberculosis, as shown by the table just given, has been nearly thirty per cent. The present population of the city is about 350,000.

The law does not specifically require physicians to report cases of typhoid or tuberculosis. It is specific only in regard to small-pox, scarlet fever and diphtheria. The Board of Health feels that the law should be amended so as to require physicians to report all consumptive and typhoid cases. The board took the matter to court some years ago to *compel* physicians to report tuberculosis cases, but the decisions were confused and nothing has come of the matter. Whenever the Board of Health learns from the death records of the death of a consumptive it undertakes to disinfect the premises and to instruct the people left in the house how to prevent the spread of the disease.

A year ago the health officer, Dr. Guy L. Kiefer, established a tuberculosis clinic. A room is set apart in the Board of Health building with a physician in charge. He instructs patients in hygiene and gives treatments when the patient is too poor to pay a regular physician. Furthermore, a nurse is sent to the house from which the patient has come to instruct the family how best to prevent the spread of the disease. Special literature has been prepared by the State Board of Health, and is furnished without cost to the local departments for distribution. In addition to this, the local authorities have prepared a card circular on "How to Prevent" and "How to Cure" consumption. This circular gives the following instructions:

"Don't spit on the sidewalks—it spreads disease, and it is against the law.

"Don't spit on the floors of your rooms or hallways.

"Don't spit on the floor of your shop.

"When you spit, spit in the gutters or into a spittoon. Have your own spittoons half full of water, and clean them out at least once a day with hot water.

"Don't cough without holding a handkerchief or your hand over your mouth.

"Don't live in rooms where there is no fresh air.

"Don't work in rooms where there is no fresh air.

"Don't sleep in rooms where there is no fresh air.

"Keep at least one window open in your bedroom day and night.

"Fresh air helps to kill the consumption germ.

"Fresh air helps to keep you strong and healthy.

"Don't eat with soiled hands—wash them first.

"Don't neglect a cold or a cough."

For the cure of the disease, the following instructions are given:

"Don't waste your money on patent medicines or advertised cures for consumption, but go to a doctor or a dispensary. If you go in time you can be cured; if you wait until you are so sick that you cannot work any longer, or until you are very weak, it may be too late; at any rate, it will in the end mean more time out of work and more wages lost than if you had taken care of yourself at the start.

"Don't drink whiskey, beer, or other intoxicating drinks; they will do you no good, but will make it harder for you to get well.

"Don't sleep in the same bed with anyone else, and, if possible, not in the same room.

"Good food, fresh air and rest are the best cures. Keep in the sunshine as much as possible, and keep your windows open, winter and summer, night and day—fresh air, night and day, is good for you.

"The careful and clean consumptive is not dangerous to those with whom he lives and works."

During the past summer an anti-tuberculosis exhibit was presented in Detroit as well as in Grand Rapids and one or two other Michigan cities. This exhibit was for purposes of popular education upon the means of preventing and the methods of curing consumption.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

By George S. Wilson, Secretary Board of Charities of the District of Columbia.

The average number of deaths from pulmonary tuberculosis during the ten years ending in 1904 was 2.727 per 1,000 of the population. The highest death rate was in 1896, when it was 3.062; and the lowest was in 1902, when it was 2.246. The total number of deaths during the calendar year 1904 was 832. Of these, 366 were white and 466 were colored. The death rate per

thousand this year from this disease was 2.623, or 13.37 per cent. of all deaths. The death rate per 1,000 for the white race was 1.644, and for the colored race 4.926. The difference in death rates from this disease between the two races is in approximately the same proportion during the last ten years. The official figures for 1905 are not yet available, but unofficial returns indicate a considerable decrease in the death rate from this disease.

During the past three years there has been a good deal of agitation on the question of the prevention and cure of the disease, and several important steps have been taken which are expected to prove beneficial. The campaign has been carried on largely by a volunteer citizens' committee on the prevention of tuberculosis, and has had the active sympathy and support of the public officials, especially the local health department. Illustrated lectures have been given for the past two winters, and a great deal of printed matter has been circulated, including brief circulars of instructions to patients how to properly protect themselves and those about them against infection A special dispensary has been established, and nurses have been employed under the direction of the Instructive Visiting Nurse Society, who have been most helpful in instructing the poorer classes as to the proper means of cure and prevention. A private sanitarium has been organized where patients are received at the moderate sum of ten dollars per week, and in some instances patients are received for even a lesser amount. An appropriation of $100,000 was secured last year for the erection of a hospital for the care of indigent cases. At the direction of the President of the United States a committee of medical men made an examination and inspection of all the federal buildings, and as a result regulations were promulgated to provide more effectively against the danger of infection of public employees. Notices are now permanently displayed in all public buildings, warning persons against expectorating on floors or walls. A police ordinance has been passed making it a misdemeanor to expectorate on the sidewalk. At present there is an active campaign being conducted on behalf of the bill now pending to provide for the registration of all cases of pulmonary tuberculosis and for the public care of such patients as are not able to provide care for themselves. The bill provides also for the free examination of sputum, upon request, in all cases where the disease is suspected.

The average death rate per 1,000 from typhoid fever during the ten years ending in 1904 was .593. The highest rate was in 1895, the first year of the ten, when the rate was .738. The lowest rate was in 1904, the last year of the period, when the rate was .438. The total number of cases of typhoid fever reported during the year 1904 was 1,006; 734 among the white race and 272 among the colored. The number of deaths during the year was 139. In the case of typhoid fever, as in the case of most other diseases, the death rate was greater among the colored than among the white, although the difference was not so marked as in the case of tuberculosis. The death rate among the white for the year 1904 was .355, and for the colored .634.

There has been a good deal of discussion in reference to the prevalence of typhoid fever during the past six or seven years, and, according to Dr

George M. Kober, but 50 per cent of the cases were regarded as water borne, due to the use of infected Potomac water and shallow and deep pump water drawn from polluted sub-soil. About 15 per cent of all cases were believed to have been brought to the city from summer resorts, and about 15 per cent are attributed to milk produced in typhoid infected districts. The remaining 20 per cent were believed to have been spread by the agency of flies, personal contact, consumption of raw oysters and shellfish from sewage polluted water, and by the eating of strawberries and vegetables contaminated by infected night soil.

It is believed that the typhoid germs traveled all the way from Cumberland, on the Potomac River, a distance of 134 miles. A study of the fever epidemics at Cumberland seems to sustain this belief.

In the belief that infected water was responsible for such a large percentage of the disease, the medical profession urged the installation of a filtration plant for the city's water supply. This filtration plant was completed in the fall of 1905. It covers twenty-nine acres, and is said to be the largest in America, and, in many respects, the most modern and scientific in the world. It is reported that it eliminates from 98 to 99 per cent of all bacteria. However, much to the disappointment of the citizens of Washington, the expected decrease in typhoid fever has not yet resulted. This would seem to indicate either that the Potomac water is not as important a factor, as heretofore assumed, or that for other reasons the past year has been an unusual one for typhoid fever, and that conditions would have been much worse had it not been for the filtration plant. The subject is being thoroughly investigated by experts of the Marine Hospital and Public Health Service, and it is reported by Mr. Horton, in the *Engineering News* of November 8, 1906, "that there is as much typhoid fever this year in Cumberland and surrounding towns as during the last two years combined." As this increase of typhoid in Cumberland has not been followed by a corresponding increase in Washington, it is argued that probably the installation of the filtration plant "has already caused to some extent the expected decrease in typhoid fever." The whole subject is being very carefully studied, and it is hoped that as a result of the investigations being made it will be possible to take such steps as will materially decrease the prevalence of this disease.

A law was enacted two years ago providing for the registration of all cases of typhoid fever, so that it is now possible to secure accurate statistics on the subject.

PROVIDENCE, R. I.

By Frank E. Lakey, English High School, Providence, R. I.

The following statements are based chiefly on printed reports and interviews with the Superintendent of Health, Charles V. Chopin, M.D., Medical Inspector Eugene P. King, M.D., Inspector of Milk Walter O. Scott, and the Providence Society for Organizing Charity.

The prevalence of tuberculosis in Providence is uncertain. The rule requiring the reporting of this disease is very generally violated. Twenty-five cases were reported by physicians and forty-nine from out-patient department of the Rhode Island Hospital, while 318 deaths are recorded for the year. The records cover only the years 1903, 1904 and 1905. The records for typhoid fever are very complete since 1884. The total number of cases for the past ten years of typhoid fever is 1,572. The lowest was 106 in 1904, and the highest 179 in 1905.

There is no evidence that any of the cases in 1905 were due to infection of food, milk or water supply. It is more likely that they were due to infection, more or less direct, from one person to the other, or perhaps through the medium of third persons who, though not sick, were the bearers of typhoid bacilli in their intestines. No evidence points to oysters, celery, lettuce, etc., as the source. Eight cases occurred at Brown University, while twelve were among the Hebrew population. July (32), August (28) and October (26) were the heaviest months in 1905. The number of deaths was 369—a ratio of 19.55. This was the lowest ratio in the past twenty-two years, save the year 1900, when the ratio was 19.25. The success of the present treatment is seen by comparison with the ratio of 1887 (59.09) and of 1885 (52.38). Probably only two or three of the epidemics in the past twenty years can be traced to water.

The measures taken to remedy the present situation are: (1) Scientific filtration of the water supplied the city; (2) encouragement of personal cleanliness. Teachers' Circular No. 7 gives plain directions and strong reasons for constant care over the personal habits of pupils.

"Once more the health department calls the attention of the teachers to the importance of developing in their pupils habits of personal cleanliness. If such habits are to be taught the work must be unremitting, hence you are again reminded of its importance. The reason why this department is interested in this subject is because the poisons of some of the common and also of some of the most loathsome diseases are frequently contained in the mouth and nose. In such cases anything which is moistened by the saliva of the infected person may, if it touches the lips of another, convey disease. The more direct the contact the greater the danger. The belief is growing among health officers that diseases are much oftener spread by this sort of contact than they are by germs floating in the air. Even if the question of diseases and contagion did not enter into the matter at all, the subject ought to be given more attention by teachers. Our schools should not only teach reading, writing, and arithmetic, but it is perhaps as important that they should inculcate cleanliness, decency, refinement, and good manners. Cleanliness should be taught for its own sake even if it had no relation whatever to health."

A circular, plainly stated, is supplied each pupil at least once a year.

A very explicit and thorough circular is distributed free, giving directions for the care and prevention of typhoid fever. Boiling the drinking

water, the care of bed linen and clothing and the disposition of discharges of patients are emphasized.

As before noted, the exact prevalence of tuberculosis cannot be stated. Providence has a very large foreign population, chiefly employed in mills and shops. Rhode Island is the most densely populated state in the Union, and nearly three-fourths of the population is within ten miles of the City Hall—nearly one-half in Providence itself. As the city is situated on the coast, throat troubles are apt to exist. Every agency combating the "white man's plague" is over-run with patients. For the past five years 11.85 per cent of all deaths in Rhode Island have been due to tuberculosis. The large part of these have been between fifteen and forty-five years of age. In Providence the death rate has dropped in twenty-five years from 29 to 17.7 per 10,000 population. The total number in Rhode Island suffering from consumption is 2,700. There are over 1,000 cases now in Providence.

The measures taken to prevent further propagation are:

1. On the part of the city authorities an education of cleanliness. One of the factors was the extensive placing of large white enamel signs on the principal business streets. These signs bore the legend, "Do not Spit on the Sidewalk. Fine $20." The spitting habit decreased 90 per cent at once. Of course bacilli can spread from gutters as well as from sidewalks. But people are now awake. "Spit signs" now appear in buildings and in the electric cars, and the operating company has co-operated gladly with the city from the outset. The State Board of Health furnishes free both house and pocket spit cups.

2. The District Nursing Association has one nurse who devotes her whole time to tuberculosis patients. This nurse follows up each case, sees that conditions are made as favorable as possible, that proper nourishment is procured and the family kept from infection. She works with the doctors in the free tuberculosis clinic of the Rhode Island Hospital as well as with other doctors. In the past six months 1,641 visits, covering about 270 patients, show the thoroughness of the work.

3. The Central Congregational Church has eleven patients at their homes, supplying tents and other necessaries.

4. St. Joseph's Hospital for Consumptives, at Hills Grove, opened in 1905, accommodates thirty-four patients, and is mainly intended for incurable cases. Double the number would apply if there were beds enough. The care by the sisters is most excellent.

5. Pine Ridge Camp, in North Scituate (opened July, 1903), has thirty in winter and sixty patients in summer. Life in the open is insisted on all the year. Shacks of wood accommodate two patients. These have windows on all sides, and are twelve feet square.

6. At the state almshouse the patients arrive in a badly infected state. If young, they show marked gain. No nurse and no other patient has ever contracted the disease. The life is spent in the sunshine. The ward was opened in 1896.

7. The State Sanatorium was opened in November, 1905, on the shores of Wallum Lake, in the northern part of the state. The treatment is fresh air, good nutrition and rest. Only curable cases or those in an early stage are taken. Patients pay one-half of the cost of $10 per week. The life is out of doors so far as the weather permits.

8. The milk inspector is conducting a vigorous campaign for good health. The imperative need is seen when it is stated that the inspector has found milk cans airing in a privy with open vault, a refrigerator with milk placed in a water closet, an open vault in a drumming room, in winter, cans unwashed for two and three months. The guilty ones are natives, not foreigners. In one case the milk of a store was kept in a refrigerator placed in a bed room used by four children. Prior to July 1, 1906, the law only required a low grade of purity. Convictions were difficult and long delayed. On July 1, 1906, a new law required: (1) all dealers to be licensed (licenses to be revoked if for the interest of public health; (2) all cans to be washed in the city by dealers so that only sterilized cans are returned; (3) steam chest for washing glass milk bottles; tests show bacteria decreased one-third since July 1.

The efforts made to teach people how to deal with the disease, in addition to above, are by illustrated lectures. During the coming winter the Society for Organizing Charity and the State Board of Health will offer a tuberculosis exhibit. The milk inspector is doing much to prevent contamination at the sources of milk supply by means of printed circulars and asking pertinent questions about sewerage, cleanliness of barn and person. On one route where milk bottles were used eighteen cases of typhoid developed before the authorities took charge and washed the bottles in a steam chest. No other case occurred.

The press has been a powerful factor. The city authorities, too, have issued an excellent circular under the title "Directions for the Sick."

The large cotton and woolen mill owners in Providence and over the state are organized to educate their employees, and are furnishing doctors free to advise as to nature and course of treatment. The state board will have circulars printed in English, Portuguese, French, Hebrew, etc. Other lines of manufacturing are following suit. When over 2,700 cases are known to exist and institutions can care for less than 200 (outside of the almshouse) the need of education is very great. Mill help, ignorance of foreigners and lack of accommodation make Providence a good field for missionary work.

BOOK DEPARTMENT

NOTES.

Alec-Tweedie, Mrs *The Maker of Modern Mexico, Porfirio Diaz.* Pp. xxi, 421. Price, $5.00. New York: John Lane Company, 1906.

Reserved for later notice.

Allen, P. L. *America's Awakening.* Pp. 288. Price, $1.25. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1906.

This book is made up of articles which have previously appeared in "The Outlook," together with some new material. The author attempts to give a brief historical summary of the political upheaval which has shaken the country during the last few years and to make the reader acquainted with the personalities of some of the men who have been in the thick of the fight. As he states in his preface, it is an attempt also to show that the pessimistic view taken by many in regard to the disclosures of corruption in high places is "hopelessly biased." The first chapters give a brief account of the reforms accomplished from the year 1899 until the summer of 1906. It is shown that "graft" was present even in the early days of our republic, if not, indeed, proportionately greater than in our later generations. Subsequent chapters deal with the individual leaders through whose inspiration most of the reforms have been accomplished. In conclusion, the resources of reform are discussed, and the effect of the reform movement upon the morals of the average man. The book, written in a popular style, gives the average reader at practically one sitting a comprehensive idea of the condition of reform politics at the present day and of what we may expect of permanent good as the result of the movement.

Armstrong, G. B., Jr. *The Beginnings of the True Railway Mail Service.* Pp. 84. Chicago: The Lakeside Press, 1906.

Baskerville, B. C. *The Polish Jew.* Pp. 336. Price, $2.50. New York: Macmillan Company, 1906.

The author of this volume has lived for eight years in Poland, and has come in intimate contact with the Jewish population. The volume was written to inform English-speaking people why those "who compose these crowds (of immigrants) left the land of their birth, whether they are likely to conform to the laws which bind the members of the community together, to raise or lower the moral standard of living in the land of their adoption, and to contribute, by their industry and their attainments, to the well-being of those classes with which they will be brought in contact."

The volume is divided into three parts. Part first includes a general study of Jewish settlement, their economic, educational, communal and political organizations; part second, an historical sketch of the Polish Jew;

and part third, a study of religious conservatism, with an attempt to forecast its future.

The picture presented is not a pleasing one, although it bears ear-marks of accuracy and of first-hand knowledge. One interesting chapter deals with Zionism and Anti-Semitism, in which it is shown that race prejudice is by no means wholly confined to the Poles, but is very generally shown by the Jews themselves. Everywhere the Jew is portrayed as a cunning, crafty business man, usually miserably poor, yet making himself absolutely necessary to the Pole. Revolutionary Socialism is shown to permeate the Ghetto and startling results in the way of murder and assaults are described. Historically speaking, the Jew had a more favorable opportunity in Poland than elsewhere in Europe, and just before the partition of Poland had seemingly reached very satisfactory relations with the other races. The scene has changed to-day. He despises, and is despised. Even within the last decade the relations of the two races have become more strained. Religious conservatism acts as an effective barrier, and those trained in the precepts of the Talmud are not likely to be active leaders of nineteenth-century civilization. Incidentally it is made clear that the Zionism of Zangwill and others is a very different thing from that of the masses who expect no earthly leader to conduct expeditions to Palestine, but who expect to see God in some miraculous way re-establish the people of Israel. The present is bad, and the future rather gloomy.

Those who formerly migrated to England and America were the economic failures, too ignorant or too unhealthy to find work at home. Now race prejudice is added to political revolution, and, as the author states, it is the sweated tailor, and the boot-maker as well as the politician, and the bomb-maker, with whom the English-speaking people have to deal. The author is very frankly unfavorably impressed by the Jews, and, although it is to be hoped she has exaggerated the dark side of the situation, her volume is of great importance. The style is good and the thought clear.

Bernhard, L. *Handbuch der Löhnungsmethoden.* Pp. 234. Price, 3.20m. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1906.

Reserved for later notice.

Bothe, F. *Die Entwickelung der direkten Besteuerung in der Reichsstadt Frankfurt bis zur Revolution,* 1612-1614. Pp. xliii, 215. Price, 15m. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1906.

Bourne, E. G. (Editor). *The Voyages and Explorations of Samuel de Champlain.* 2 vols. Pp. 254 and 229. Price, $1 net. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1906.

A recent addition to the very handy Trail Makers Series is this new translation of Champlain's narration of his voyages as revised and published by himself in 1632. As Professor Bourne points out, Champlain had previously published separate accounts of his explorations, but the complete 1632 edition, containing all the essentials of the earlier publications, reworked them into a systematic and connected whole. The past inaccessibility of the writings

of Champlain is shown by the fact that it was not until 1870 that the originals of his entire work appeared, and not until 1878 that an English translation was made. The latter, however, was a very limited edition, so that a distinct and valuable service has been rendered by the present re-translation. The issuance of this popular edition gives to the average reader his first opportunity of becoming acquainted with this most interesting narrative.

In the introduction are given a sketch of previous editions of Champlain's writings, a short biographical account of the explorer and an estimate of the results of his work and his place in history. "If we compare him with the other explorers and founders of that age," the editor says, "he stands above them all in the range of achievement." The permanent influence of his work is more far-reaching than that of De Soto or of Coronado, and as a leader he was superior to La Salle. "In some one or two of the many fields of his activity others have surpassed Champlain, but no other Frenchman, and no Spaniard or Englishman, has attained his high level and wide range."

The editing and translation show painstaking care and appreciation of the work of the author. Disputed points, obscure references and seeming contradictions are satisfactorily explained in succinct footnotes. The work contains only one illustration, a photographic facsimile of the explorer's map of New France. It is unfortunate that more of the colored drawings, maps and diagrams in which Champlain was so prolific could not have been reproduced. An index, also, would have been of value.

Braun, Marcus. *Immigration Abuses.* Pp. 136. Price, 50 cents. New York: Pearson Advertising Company, 1906.

This monograph is a powerful philippic against the methods adopted by the Hungarian government for regulating emigration. At times the language used becomes unpleasantly personal and charged with a feeling not conducive to impartial judgment, but the general attitude of the author is that of a man who clearly sees a wrong to be righted and sets out to express his opinions sincerely and fearlessly.

Mr. Braun was appointed as United States immigrant inspector and was sent to Hungary to investigate alleged abuses in the sending of peasants from that country to this. His report was until recently unpublished by the United States government, and only upon its printing has the author felt at liberty to give out his monograph covering the abuses there described.

The whole policy of the Hungarian government, says Mr. Braun, is to encourage emigration to America, but at the same time to influence the people not to become Americans. They are to stay in America only long enough to earn a competence and learn American methods—then return to their native land.

The chief means by which this is to be accomplished is by special agreements with the Cunard Company providing for the transportation of such emigrants to and from America. The origial contract stipulates that the government should deliver over a definite number of immigrants to the

company every year. This feature was removed by a protest from the American government, only to be replaced by the rise of an organization called the Central Ticket Office, which aims to stimulate for its own profit all emigration by way of Fiume and the Cunard Company. In this agreement officials high in government circles are interested. Through their influence the emigration laws of Hungary are made dead letters, and exploiting emigration becomes a profitable business, yielding to the Central Ticket Office twenty crowns for every person sent abroad. The policy of those in control is epitomized in the sentence "emigration from our country is large—let us make it profitable." This has led the officials to practically prohibit emigration by any other port than Fiume, forcing peasants who wish to leave the country by any other route to prove that they do not intend to go to America. It is a pleasure to note that Mr. Braun expressly denies any intent to insinuate that the Cunard Company is guilty of trying to maintain these methods or of evading the United States immigration laws. The blame lies wholly with the corrupt Hungarian officials.

The book closes with an appeal to Hungarians in America to assume citizenship and a warning to Hungary that in encouraging the emigration of her peasants she is steadily pouring out her own life blood.

Browne, Col. Ed. F. *Socialism or Empire a Danger.* Pp. 229. Omaha: Klopp & Bartlett Company, 1906.

The dangers of Socialism and the inadvisability, from a business standpoint, of allowing too much power to be lodged in the hands of the National Executive, form the thesis of the book. Government interference with private business is to the author's mind leading us toward Socialism, and the tendency to grant to the National Executive a large amount of legislative power is leading us toward an empire.

The book is a radical plea for a return to the conservatism of the founders of the constitution, and is interwoven with sharp attacks on Socialism and criticisms of the policy of President Roosevelt. All things are considered to be subservient to business prosperity, and any public interference with private affairs is most bitterly censured.

The book represents a distinct attempt to line up the conservative elements of the community against the tendency to drift toward "the sands of Socialism or the rock of empire." In carrying out the work, however, the author has overstepped his mark by bitterly condemning a group of institutions like the post office and the interstate commerce commission, which are recognized as valuable adjuncts to the business interests of the community.

The book, as a whole, is a disappointment because of its loose and somewhat ranting style, the partisanship which colors every page, and the faulty construction of the text.

Capke, T. *The Slovaks of Hungary.* Pp. xvi, 214. New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1906.

The publication of this book is justified by the fact, even though there were

no others, that practically nothing has been written in English about the Slovaks, except brief articles in the various encyclopedias. And yet the Slovaks hold seventh place in the list of foreign nationalities migrating to the United States. The total number of immigrants of this nationality in 1905 exceeded 52,000. These and those that preceded them are to be found in the steel mills along the Monongahela River, in the Connellsville coke region, in the anthracite coal mines throughout Pennsylvania, and in nearly every factory, mill and industrial concern north of the Mason and Dixon line, doing generally the hardest and meanest labor, and, in the words of our author, "Doing it faithfully and cheerfully." These able-bodied foreigners are called indifferently "Hunks," "Hungarians," or "Slavs." Of all the states, Pennsylvania contains the largest Slovak population, and we have the statement of our author that the name of Penn's commonwealth is by all odds the most familiar English term in all upper Hungary.

The total number of Slovaks in the United States at the present time is estimated to be about 400,000. The author of the work in review is intimately acquainted with the American Slovak, his ambitions and efforts, and in the fall of 1903 he had an opportunity to observe him at close range in his own home. He observes that American dollars and American civilization have done more to uplift the Slovak than anything else that had been done for him by his own government within the last half century, the Slovak highlander, he claims, being far more concerned over the scale of wages obtaining in and around Pittsburg than he is in the wages paid in Pesth.

Much of the book is taken up with matters of discontent over the Magyar domination and others of peculiar concern to the home country. While all this is interesting historically, it is not of as great importance to the American student as would be other subjects to which more attention might have been given. This is particularly true of social conditions. Only one chapter of twenty-five pages is devoted to this subject, and while it is extremely well done, the subject is deserving of a much more extended treatment. What is particularly needed at the present time are sympathetic interpretations of the different nationalities now crowding to our shores. While we have no desire to question the aim and purpose of the writer, we believe that a greater service would have been performed if he had aimed to interpret to the American people more of the virtues and qualities which make the Slovak immigrant a desirable addition to our population.

Clark, V. S. *The Labor Movement in Australasia.* Pp. x, 327. Price, $1.50. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1906.

See "Book Reviews."

Collins, T. B. *The New Agriculture.* Pp. 374. Price, $2. New York: Munn & Co., 1906.

Reserved for later notice.

Daish, J. B. *Present Transportation Problems.* Pp. 13. New York: Freight Publishing Company.

Dauncey, Mrs. C *An Englishwoman in the Philippines.* Pp. xx, 350. Price, $3.50. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1906.

The Philippine Islands have a total area less than that of New Mexico, yet they seem to furnish an unfailing theme for the author. Mrs. Dauncey adds another to the already long list of popular accounts of our eastern possessions. The value of the book lies not so much in what it tells as in the way it is told—the point of view of the author. From cover to cover there are few facts which are new. Too many other authors have told about life in the Philippines for much of the field to be left untouched.

Mrs. Dauncey, however, as the title of her book suggests, is an Englishwoman, and in this collection of her letters, written to friends at home, probably the most interesting thing to the average reader would be the reflection of the English attitude toward American policy. The letters carry with them a local atmosphere which reveals the true Filipino and Philippine life as many others have failed to do. On the whole the story is interestingly told and the word pictures are well drawn. But, unfortunately, the author has allowed personal prejudice to lead her into unfair criticism of things American. Unquestionably more or less of the criticism is deserved, especially regarding the customs duties and regulations. But the bias is so sweeping that there appears to be nothing good in the American administration of the islands. It is not impossible, however, that there may be direct benefit in seeing ourselves as others see us.

Dewsnup, Ernest R. *Railway Organization and Working.* Pp. xi, 498. Price, $2. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1906.

Under the title of *Railway Organization and Working* Professor Ernest R. Dewsnup, of the University of Chicago, has published a series of papers which constitute a course of special lectures delivered before his university classes on railway transportation during the period extending from November, 1904, to May, 1906. The volume contains twenty-five papers, all but two of them being by railway officials. The papers are of high average excellence and the volume constitutes a most welcome addition to the scanty literature dealing with the management of railway traffic. The volume may profitably be read not only by men in the railway service, but also by college and university students of transportation. The scope of the subjects treated may be indicated by the fact that there are several papers dealing with the passenger department, others with the handling of freight and the distribution of cars, others of a more technical character concerned with the maintenance of way and equipment, and other papers dealing with the duties of comptrollers and auditors. In the appendix may be found six papers prepared by Professor Dewsnup's students. The papers in the appendix are quite as interesting as those which constitute the main body of the volume. The book is illustrated with ten diagrams.

Dole, C. F. *The Spirit of Democracy.* Pp. viii, 435. Price, $1.25. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co., 1906.

A most readable book is this latest attempt to interpret the new spirit of Democracy in its relation to our modern industrial life, government and the extension of governmental control. The meaning of "sovereignty," "liberty,"

"equality," treated in their connection with this new spirit, is discussed in popular style, followed by an examination of our American social institutions, viewed in the light of the spirit of co-operation, which Mr. Dole regards as the essence of Democracy. A positive social motive—good will—is taking the place of the old *fear*. At the basis of our numberless clubs, lodges and granges lies the democratic spirit. The "laissez faire" policy has been abandoned; government must control industry; and, instead of merely keeping order within, or protecting from external foes, is entering upon the *positive* task of promoting the welfare of its citizens. Certain of our present institutions, such as the transmission of property by inheritance, while necessary in the past, are now strange and anomalous under the rule of a democracy. The race problem, and "Democracy and the Executive," are interestingly treated, though not discussed analytically. "The electoral college is a sort of honorary vermiform appendage."

The prevalence of looser family ties and divorce is due to the difficulty of transition from the old idea of authority to the newer one of mutual good will. We are not yet ready for the common ownership of lands, mines and forests: "A land full of Quays, Platts and Rockefellers, and the whole nation trying to be like them, does not yet deserve so grand a scheme of common justice."

Eliot, C. W. *Great Riches.* Pp. 38. Price, $1.50. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co., 1906.

This beautifully bound little book consists of fifteen short essays on the responsibilty and privileges of the wealthy. Large possessions should bring a greater desire to make good use of the power they confer upon the holder. Riches do not of themselves mean happiness, however, nor does happiness necessitate riches. Friends, books, the outdoor world, the power to think wisely and to serve one's fellows—all elements of happiness—are quite as much within the reach of those to whom great wealth has not been given.

Fiske, J *Civil Government in the United States.* New Edition. Pp. xxxii, 378. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

A new edition of this well known text, with additions by D. S. Sanford. The book gives a concise review of the origin and development of American governmental institutions, with special emphasis upon their organic character. An appendix of seventy pages gives a good selection of the chief documents of our constitutional history.

Forbes-Lindsay, C. H. *Panama.* Pp. 368. Price, $1. Philadelphia: John C. Winston Company, 1906.

Reserved for later notice.

Foster, J. W *The Practice of Diplomacy.* Pp. 401. Price, $3 net. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1906.

Mr. John W. Foster is already well known as a writer on diplomatic affairs through his volumes "A Century of American Diplomacy" and "American Diplomacy in the Orient." A valuable companion to these is the present work, "The Practice of Diplomacy." Few, if any, Americans are better

fitted by actual experience to discuss the methods of carrying on our foreign relations through diplomatic representatives. Mr. Foster was United States Minister to Mexico from 1873-80, to Russia 1880-1, to Spain 1883-5, was special plenipotentiary to negotiate reciprocity treaties with Spain, Brazil and Germany in 1891, was agent of the United States in the Bering Sea arbitration at Paris in 1893, participated in peace negotiations with Japan upon the invitation of the Emperor of China at the close of the war of 1894-5, and was ambassador on a special mission to Great Britain and Russia in 1897. Besides service abroad, he has had experience also as the head of all our foreign relations, having succeeded Mr. Blaine as Secretary of State in President Harrison's Cabinet in 1892. An intimacy with diplomatic affairs so long and varied as this makes Mr. Foster's discussion of his subject especially valuable.

In contrast to the two earlier volumes, the subjects presented in this book are less exclusively American and cover a much wider period of time. The chief emphasis is, however, still upon the part America has taken in the development of our present means of international negotiation.

The first half of the book is devoted to a general discussion of the utility and functions of the diplomatic service and of diplomatic etiquette. The treatment is not intended to make the book a manual for the use of our representatives, but rather to present to the public at large a picture of the conditions surrounding international intercourse a hundred and fifty years ago and the progress that has since been made in raising the standard of the service. These chapters trace the change in the functions of the envoy from the time in which he was "an agent who lied abroad for his country" to the present, when he is a dignified representative of the national sovereignty, whose business it is to try to preserve amicable relations between his own and foreign nations, or restore them in case they have been broken off or disturbed. In this development the representatives of no nation have been more prominent than those of the United States. From the beginning our foreign relations have been characterized by a straightforwardness of which we may be justly proud. The United States has been instrumental also in abolishing as far as possible all needless ceremony and formality in the meeting of representatives of sovereignty.

The latter half of the book is devoted to a study of the language, framing, negotiation, interpretation and termination of treaties and less formal compacts. Here the part played by the United States has been similar to that already mentioned in regard to general diplomatic intercourse. We have aimed to secure the adoption of direct statements and simplicity in all international agreements. The concluding chapters on arbitration and its procedure and international claims are especially interesting because of the active part the United States has taken in securing amicable settlement of international disputes.

As a whole, it must be said that the book is a very successful presentation of the field the author sets out to discuss. In style it is distinctly popular rather than scholarly, as, indeed, it is intended to be, and the book

must be judged in the light of the purpose for which it was written. Numerous references and a good bibliography open up the field of the literature on the subject to the student who wishes to study its various phases in greater detail.

de Foville, A. *La Monnaie.* Pp. 242. Price, 2fr. Paris: Victor Le Coffre, 1907.

This work is interesting both from its subject matter and from the personality of the author. Placed at the head of the administration of the mint of the Bank of France, he superintended the operations of the coinage for seven years. After a short review of the theory of money, we are given a concise but comprehensive review of the monetary systems of the world. The second part of the book describes the model mints of the world and the methods adopted to minimize loss, both in the process of coinage and through wear in use. The latter chapters turn again to the consideration of theory. The chief subjects treated are value and price in their relation to money, bimetalism, the quantitative theory—to which in a special form the author adheres—paper money and the money of the future. Throughout the book there are interesting statistical tables dealing with the production of the precious metals, variations in value and the proportions of the various metals in actual use in the different countries.

Fraser, J. F. *Pictures from the Balkans.* Pp. x, 298. Price, $2. New York: Cassell & Co., Limited, 1906.

The author of "America at Work" and "The Real Siberia" has added another to his list of successful local studies. This latest book by Mr. Fraser fully lives up to its name in giving the reader "Pictures from the Balkans," but it is more than the title would suggest. It is a book setting forth the conditions which underlie one of the most perplexing subjects in modern politics—the Macedonian and Bulgarian questions—and the problem of what is to be done with Turkey in Europe.

All through the book the author recounts, apparently without prejudice or exaggeration, the actual conditions as he found them existing in the Balkan states. Many readers will find themselves forced over to a new point of view, or with quite a new understanding, concerning the state of affairs in Macedonia, Albania and Bulgaria. It will shock many to learn "that most of the murdering now going on in the Balkans is by Christians of Christians," in the process of converting the people from the Greek Church to the Bulgarian Church, or vice versa, "at the dagger's point." Most of which the Christian world has been inclined to lay at the Turk's door.

It is hard to realize that Europe contains a people whose whole attitude is essentially that of primitive man, who holds human life so cheap that most of the people die "from differences of opinion." Yet such is the case in the Balkans—and it is this problem in political geography which the great powers must solve sooner or later—the problem of what is to be done to remedy the state of affairs now existing there.

As Mr. Fraser puts it, the average man wonders why the great powers

do not remove the Turk from all rule in Europe, but the real reason why it is not done is because the powers do not know what to do with the Balkan states. Russia, Austria and Germany especially look with covetous eyes on the region; Servia, Greece and Roumania have dreams of future greatness, and France, Britain and Italy are reluctant to let any other nation step in. Meanwhile the conditions grow no better and the question no nearer a solution.

From reading Mr. Fraser's book the reader is almost sure to agree with him in the conclusion that the only apparent solution is a terrific explosion of war—and that this Balkan area will be the next seat of a great international struggle. In it all the position of Germany is menacing. Germany looks into the future when there will be no Austrian Empire. Why else should Germany directly foster a German colony at Trieste and favor the Austrian desire to have Salonika as an Austrian port on the Ægean? Why else than that it might eventually all become German? There is a glimmer of hope for peaceful settlement in a Balkan confederation, with the Turk as a member, but the chance is exceedingly slim. Germany and Russia appear most likely to enforce claims by actual warfare, and warfare of some kind seems certain, if one judges from the conditions as Mr. Fraser so vividly portrays them.

Garland, J. S. *New England Town Law.* Pp. xxxi, 894. Price, $6 net. Boston: Boston Book Company, 1906.

This valuable volume consists of two very distinct parts. The first eighty-three pages are taken up with an interesting review of the origin, development and present status of the New England town. Little that is really new to the student of municipal history is offered here, but the results of various detailed studies are presented in an attractive and concise manner. The most interesting portion of the study, especially to those not personally familiar with New England, is the description of the survivals of former customs and methods of organization, not only in the out-of-the-way country districts, but even in some of the most progressive of New England's municipalities. Best known of these survivals in city government is the retention of the old town meeting by the municipality of Brookline, Mass. With a population of 24,000 and a property valuation of $90,852,400, necessitating annual municipal expenditures of over $1,000,000, exclusive of state and county taxes, the local government is nevertheless entirely satisfactory. "In the conduct of the business of all branches of the public service Brookline has the reputation of being a model town."

The study of the communal holdings by the towns is also well done. How long these survived is a surprise to the average reader. It seems hard to realize that Boston Common was still used as a pasture in 1830, and that Plymouth, Salem and Sandwich still preserve remnants of their old communal lands, administered much as they were when they were originally established.

The second part of the book presents the first systematic compilation of

the laws of the New England states in relation to towns and town government. The laws are grouped around the titles of the officers of the towns, and those of each state are arranged together. By these means the whole body of the law is rendered accessible to the reader, an advantage impossible through any other method because of the great mass and diversity of the statutes. Over three thousand five hundred references are given, citing the more important decisions given by the courts in cases under the various enactments.

The volume is an excellent beginning in a sort of work in which as yet but little has been accomplished in the United States.

Gibson, T. *The Pitfalls of Speculation.* Pp. 146. Price, $1.00. New York: Moody Corporation, 1906.

Giddings, F. H *Descriptive and Historical Sociology.* Pp. xxiv, 553. New York: Macmillan Company, 1906.

See "Book Reviews."

Haeckel, E. *Last Words on Evolution.* Pp. 179. Price, $1. New York: Peter Eckler.

About a year ago the announcement was made that Ernst Haeckel, the famous exponent of Darwinism, had in his farewell lectures, in Berlin abandoned the theory of evolution and given support to the teaching of a Jesuit writer. After a somewhat incredulous reception, the report was denied *in toto*. Partly with the object of placing the lectures before the American public to show the falsity of the original announcement, the present work is published.

The three lectures presented are distinctly popular in character, and aim only to give a brief summary of the evolutionary theory in its present-day development and to review its present standing in the theological world. The first two lectures review the results of biological research in the last half century, which Professor Haeckel thinks conclusively demonstrate the physical descent of man from the anthropoid apes. The emphasis in the last lecture is changed from a discussion of biology to one of theology. The author aims to sum up here his monistic philosophy as it bears on the ideas of immortality and God. He contends that the soul does not differ in kind from the other elements that make up man, and therefore has no individual immortality. God as a personal creator he also rejects. "Our monistic God, the all-embracing essence of the world, the nature god of Spinosa and Goethe is identical with the eternal all-inspiring energy and is one, in eternal and infinite substance with space-filling matter. It 'lives and moves in all things,' as the Gospel says."

The book closes with a contrast between the theory of evolution and the tenets of the church, which the author holds cannot be reconciled.

Hay, John. *The Addresses of John Hay.* Pp. 353. Price, $2. New York: The Century Company, 1906.

The standards of work which controlled the activities of the late Secretary Hay were so high that everything he did was most carefully done. His

public addresses, like his services as a diplomat and statesman, were the sincere and conscientious efforts of a man of genial nature, of broad sympathies, of rich culture and innate dignity. The volume containing the "Addresses of John Hay" will give permanent and wide influence to the public speeches of one whose career may well be studied by every patriotic American. The oration which Secretary Hay delivered at the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Republican party, the eulogy on the late President McKinley, which he delivered before Congress, and, indeed, all the orations and speeches contained in the volume are examples of the style of one who was able to clothe his thought in most graceful and dignified phraseology. Secretary Hay's knowledge of history, of literature, of art, and his poetic temperament gave him an unsual endowment as a writer. What he said is valuable first of all because of the content, but it is equally interesting and instructive to one who is in search of standards of graceful English.

Haynes, G. H. *The Election of Senators.* Pp. xi, 295. Price, $1.50. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1906.

Reserved for later notice.

Henderson, Howard *Wealth and Workingmen.* Second Revised Edition. Pp. 531. Price, $1. Covington, Ky.: H. A. Schroetter, 1906.

The most interesting feature of the book is its sweeping condemnation of the industrial and moral evils of the day.

"We cannot baptize monopoly and take it into the church."

"Wealth, or 'the capacity to gratify rational desire,' should bear equitable relation to the industry that produces it."

"The accumulation of vast fortunes in the possession of a few, while toiling masses swelter in abject poverty, is reprobated by the equitable laws of sociology and the principles of Christianity."

But the possession of riches, as such, is not condemned.

"Asceticism and Stoicism, no more than Epicureanism, comport with the spirit or genius of Christ's religion. A rational use of money, in the encouragement and cultivation of the beautiful, is not sinful."

In spite of this positive stand on industrial questions, the book is primarily religious. On almost every page biblical characters are used as illustrations, and numerous extracts from the Bible are printed.

The author has written a series of sermons, covering three hundred and fifty pages, and grouped them under this title, "Wealth and Workmen." Economic considerations find a place in only six of the nineteen chapters. Eight chapters are taken up with a plea for foreign missions, and the remaining five are devoted to a discussion of various religious topics, such as "The Free-Seat Church" and "Systematic Benevolence."

The book is well written and makes good reading, but its title, "Wealth and Workingmen," is a misnomer, as the sanction proposed is in all cases a religious one, and the criterion for human endeavor is made the support of foreign missions.

Hills, N. D. *The Fortunes of the Republic.* Pp. 333. Price, $1.20. New York and Chicago: F. H. Revell Company, 1906.

Reserved for later notice.

Howard, B. E. *The German Empire.* Pp. 449. Price, $2. New York: Macmillan Company, 1906.

The rise of Germany to importance in both the commerce and politics of the world is one of the most interesting of international developments of the past half century. An analysis of the government lying back of and largely directing the national ambition is, therefore, a welcome contribution to our knowledge of our powerful transatlantic neighbor. In his work, "The German Empire," Dr. Burt Estes Howard has given us a review of many of the more important phases of this young government, the most successful of all modern legislative and administrative organizations. The material upon which the author has chiefly drawn is the wealth of German official publications and historical and constitutional studies. For this reason the book is often hard reading and will not be sought by the casual reader who wishes to get a superficial view of the powers and interrelations of the various branches of the imperial and state governments. But the work makes up in solidity for whatever it lacks in interest, and the student of comparative politics will find it a valuable reference book not only in giving a concise statement of the facts, but also in placing at his command by numerous references the authorities upon the various subjects treated.

Following a very condensed introductory chapter on the founding of the German Empire, the author presents a number of subjects which, by their contrasts to similar branches of our own government, are especially interesting to the American reader. The more important of these are the chapters on the relations of the empire and the individual states, the Kaiser, the Bundesrath and the Reichstag. The peculiar position of the imperial chancellor is also very satisfactorily outlined.

The range of the later chapters of the book—Alsace-Lorraine, finance and the army—shows that the author has here been forced to select from a large number of subjects within the scope of the title. Many of those most interesting to the student of German affairs have been of necessity omitted by the limitation of the work to a single volume. Most important among these is a discussion of German foreign policy in both its European and oversea aspects, but numerous other topics of hardly less interest suggest themselves.

As a whole the book is a serious and concise summary of value in itself and a basis for wider study.

Hunt, Thomas F. *How to Choose a Farm.* Pp. xiv, 412. Price, $1.75. New York: Macmillan Company, 1906.

The author, professor of agronomy at Cornell University, is well qualified to discuss the problems relating to the choice of a farm.

The chief elements to be considered are: First, character and topography of the soil; second, climatic conditions, including healthfulness and water supply; third, location; fourth, improvements. A complete and somewhat

technical classification of the soils of the United States is given, along with the crops best adapted to them. The caution is given that a mechanical and chemical analysis of a soil fails to show its true fertility, the surest test being actual trial.

The farms of the United States are capitalized above their commercial value, because they act as homes as well as places of business. This explains the fact that the average farm, including eastern rocky wastes and western deserts, is poor property as an investment. Further, the average gross returns are low in comparison to what they would be under good management, which should in general bring yields fifty per cent better than the present averages. A score card is offered, showing the relative values of various farm characteristics.

After the principles concerned in the selection of a farm are stated, they are applied to a discussion of the different regions in America. The United States is arranged in eighteen divisions for this purpose. Canada, Mexico, the outlying possessions of the United States and South American lands are also discussed.

The subject is treated from an economic point of view, abundant statistical data being given in support of statements. The book suffers through an attempt to cover too wide a field. The style is ordinary. Though at times involved, it is generally lucid. The subject is treated practically and dispassionately. The book is valuable to persons considering the possibility of owning or living on a farm.

Jackson, A. V. W. *Persia: Past and Present.* Pp. xxx, 471. Price, $4. New York: Macmillan Company, 1906.

Reserved for later notice.

Jaures, J. *Studies in Socialism.* Translated by Mildred Minturn. Pp. xliii, 197. Price, $1. New York: Putnam's Sons, 1906.

M. Jaurés, the greatest living French Socialist, writes in this publication a number of interesting studies on present-day socialism and socialistic theory. The presentation of the subject is able and its spirit tolerant. The writer is the foremost exponent of the group which aims at the reorganization of society through gradual reforms rather than by revolution. His discussions are characterized by a willingness to meet fairly and squarely not only the differences of belief of avowed opponents, but, what is more unusual in such writings, the differences between the author and his allies in the socialistic movement. M. Jaurés insists upon the necessity of converting the large mass of society to the socialistic program before any actual practice of the teachings can be begun. A determined minority would be quite sufficient to frustrate the plans of a society otherwise clearly destined to succeed. The arguments in favor of proceeding slowly and in a peaceful manner only are reinforced by numerous references to history and by shrewd observations on present-day facts, which show the writer much more of a student than the average of the class of writers he represents.

Jenks, J. S *Citizenship and the Schools.* Pp. viii, 264. Price, $1.25. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1906.

In this volume Professor Jenks has collected nine addresses delivered at various times bearing upon the duty of the schools to prepare their students for undertaking the responsibilities of citizenship. It is not in any sense a text, but intended rather to appeal to the educator by showing the importance of a study of our politics and government. The electorate must be given the ability to judge of public affairs by a thorough understanding of the elements of our national life acquired by unprejudiced presentation of facts in our schools. This can never be equaled for the average man by casual reading of periodicals or a brief period of interest in the progress of political campaigns.

The lectures aim to present the importance of conscious emphasis by the teacher upon the factors that develop a sense of responsibility in all branches of life. The presentation is always interesting and illuminated by a wealth of happy illustrations.

Johnson, Clifton. *Highways and Byways of the Mississippi Valley.* Pp. xiii, 287. Price, $2. New York: Macmillan Company, 1906.

Highways and Byways of the Mississippi Valley is a book of social studies rather than a technical work. It consists of reprints of papers that have previously appeared in the "Outing Magazine," the "Delineator," "Good Housekeeping" and the "New England Magazine." The series of studies begins with Louisiana and ends with Minnesota, and the volume attempts to present a literary picture of certain classes of people living in the states bordering the Mississippi River. The volume is really a series of interviews with people who are supposed to represent types of society. The persons interviewed are unlettered country people, who are not the leaders of the central west. Indeed, the volume has more to do with the "byways" than with the "highways." The volume is copiously illustrated by reproductions of photographs of commonplace persons and scenes. There is little art displayed in the illustrations.

Kennedy, W. S *Wonders and Curiosities of the Railway.* Pp. 266. Price, 50 cents. New York: Hurst & Co., 1906.

Knox, George W. *The Spirit of the Orient.* Pp. xvii, 307. Price, $1.50. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co., 1906.

The author of "The Spirit of the Orient," Mr. George W. Knox, whom many people have become acquainted with by his volume on "Japanese Life in Town and Country," is admirably equipped for writing upon the east. He has lived long enough in the Orient to be able to make a sympathetic and appreciative interpretation of the civilization and culture of Oriental countries. He is, moreover, able to express himself in an easy and graceful style. The catholicity of the author's mind is well illustrated by the following sentences:

"Doubtless the spirit of the east differs from the spirit of the west, else there would be no occasion for this book, but beneath them both is our common humanity. Deep and wide is our separation, and strange to each other are the two great earth spirits, and yet all men are one. Could we

creep for a while into each other's skin and look through each other's consciousness, we should feel at home. The greater part of life is the same for all. We have like bodies, with their members and their senses; we are subject to the same influences of air and light and darkness and earth and sky. We have the same needs for food and drink and sleep and clothes. We alike are social in our being, and the great drama of life, with its beginning and ending, its pains and joys, its loves and hates, is the same for all, so that in no metaphorical sense, but in the most literal meaning of the words, we are one."

"The Spirit of the Orient" is concerned mainly with India, China and Japan. After presenting the American idea of the Orient and discussing the Asiatic point of view in the first two chapters, the author takes up India, China and Japan in turn, devoting to each country two chapters, one on "People and Customs" and another on "The Spirit and Problems." The volume closes with a chapter entitled "The New World," in which the author discusses the situation in the east that has resulted from the victory of Japan over Russia.

Martin, G. W., Edited by. *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society,* 1905-1906. Vol. IX. Pp. 654. Topeka: State Printing Office, 1906.

A volume embracing the addresses at the annual meetings for the year mentioned. It includes studies in local history and the development of the state, the chief divisions being: Early missions in Kansas, semi-centennial of territorial organization, river navigation, political administrations, the soldiers of Kansas and miscellaneous papers.

Matthews, B *American Character.* Pp. 33. Price, 75 cents. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co., 1906.

A beautifully written and beautifully printed essay on the ideals of Americans. It is given in answer to the foreign criticism that "the ambition of the American's heart, the passion of his life, is money."

McAdoo, W. *Guarding a Great City.* Pp. vi, 350. Price, $2. New York: Harper Bros., 1906.

The author was police commissioner of New York City 1904 to 1906, but was dismissed at the behest of certain political powers. The present volume is the result of his experiences and observations during that period. He endeavors to show just what the police system of a city needs, its advantages, its difficulties, its dangers. We find him, therefore, discussing the make-up of the police establishment, its discipline, appointments and promotions, honors for physical courage, details and assignments, harbor police, as well as a good many of the chief problems the police have to solve. Amongst these he treats of vice, Chinatown, the pool-room evil, the traffic problems, and devotes a special chapter to the magistrates.

In style the volume is depressive and rambling, decidedly lacking in order and continuity. In too many places the author seems, naturally enough, perhaps, to be on the defensive, and to be replying to critics of his own

administration. The volume would have been much stronger had the author dropped the controversial tone and found a more logical arrangement for his material. In spite of these criticisms, however, the book gives a very valuable and suggestive insight as to the police conditions and problems of New York City. Mr. McAdoo points out, for instance, the practical impossiblity of securing certain sorts of evidence by means of regular police; not through any fault of the policemen, but through the very conditions surrounding them. He likewise pays many deserved compliments to the police force, and says that they are like any other body of men that he has known, few bad, many good. No one can read this volume without realizing that more definite steps should be taken to free the police from political control and to increase their effectiveness in many ways. Incidentally, the average reader will get a deal of information as to the ways in which the forces of evil combine to defeat the law. The book deserves wide reading.

McLaughlin, A. C. *Report on the Diplomatic Archives of the Department of State,* 1789-1840. Pp. 73. Price, 25 cents. Washington: Carnegie Institution.

McLaughlin, A. C., Slade, W. A., and Lewis, E. D., Edited by. *Writings on American History.* Pp. xv, 172. Price, $1.00. Washington: Carnegie Institution.

Merriam, C. E. *Report on the Municipal Revenues of Chicago.* Pp. xiii, 161. Price, 50 cents. Chicago: City Club, 1906.

Moore, F. *The Balkan Trail.* Pp. xi, 296. Price, $3.50. New York: Macmillan Company, 1906.

Reserved for later notice.

Morris, J. *Makers of Japan.* Pp. xv, 330. Price, $3. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1906.

See "Book Reviews."

Nettleship, R. L. *Memoir of Thomas Hill Green.* Pp. 256. Price, $1.50 net. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1906.

The writings of Thomas Hill Green lie in the three fields of philosophy, religion and politics. Mr. Nettleship in this memoir originally published as a part of the works of Thomas Hill Green brings out the development of the author's thought in each of these three fields. Mr. Green was known to the writer as leader and as a friend, and the background of the work is, therefore, drawn not only from published works, but from the vantage point of intimate association. The estimate of the thought and personality of the statesman-philosopher is sympathetic and appreciative.

Nevinson, H. W. *A Modern Slavery.* Pp. x, 216. Price, $2. New York: Harper Bros., 1906.

The author of this volume is an Englishman. He was sent (incognito) by Harpers into Southern Africa to find out the situation of the slave trade. After stopping at Loanda and other places on the coast, Mr. Nevinson journeyed from Benguela, via Mossamedes, through the Bihe district, and back

again to Benguela, finally embarking from Lobito Bay, stopping on his return journey at San Thome. Everywhere Mr. Nevinson found innumerable evidences of the existence of the slave trade, not merely the domestic slavery perfectly well known amongst the native negro tribes, but he found that caravans of slaves are still being brought from the east over trails well worn during the period of American slavery. The natives are still being sold to planters or shipped under guise of contract laborers to the Portuguese Islands, San Thome and Principe. Those going to the islands are nominally under contract for five years, renewable if they so desire. As a matter of fact, they are sent as slaves for life, and the natives know it well. The contract is a compulsory one. It is an appalling picture of slavery which Mr. Nevinson gives us, and one which ought to stir the governments, which think they have abolished the slave business, into activity. Mr. Nevinson's account is very interesting, the illustrations are good, and the total impression is that it is an account of a truthful eye-witness. The fact that Mr. Nevinson was poisoned just before leaving the country, his life having been threatened for some time, lends additional emphasis to his statement.

Parsons, F. *The Railways, the Trusts and the People.* Pp. v, 544. Price, $1.50. Philadelphia: C. F. Taylor, 1906.

Reserved for later notice.

Pearson, H. C. *What I Saw in the Tropics.* Pp. 288. Price, $3. New York: India Rubber Publishing Company, 1906.

Reserved for later notice.

Pinkus, N. *Das Problem des Normalen.* Pp. 295. Price, 6.60 marks. Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot, 1906.

Pollock, Sir Henry. *Maine's Ancient Law.* Pp. 462. Price, $1.75. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1906.

"Maine's Ancient Law" has become one of the classics of political science. First published in 1861, some of its conclusions must be modified in the light of our present knowledge. The student is not surprised that such is the case, but rather that so little correction is necessary. Maine never attempted to achieve the ambition of the continental scholar—to formulate a well-balanced "system" or "theory"—but was content to present his studies for what they were worth, even at the risk of leaving them somewhat fragmentary in character. That such was his method probably accounts in no small degree for the enduring excellence of his writings.

The chief object of the volume is to show the importance of the legal element in early societies. Maine was the first to clearly point out that the study of law must not be confined to its political and constitutional aspects, but that it offers a vast field for the application of historical and comparative method.

The chief topics treated are: the sentiment of reverence evoked by the mere existence of law in early communities, the essential formalism of archaic law, the predominance of rules of procedure over rules of sub-

stance in early legal systems, the fundamental difference between ancient and modern ideas as to legal proof, the relatively modern character of the individual citizens' disposing power, especially by will and freedom of contract, and the still more modern appearance of true criminal law.

Such fundamental studies as these are always welcome to the student.

Later researches in the history of law have, as a rule, confirmed Maine's leading ideas partly by actual proof of consequences he indicated as possible, partly by additional testimony, drawn from fields he himself never investigated.

This republication of a great classic in historical jurisprudence is highly welcome. The edition is supplemented by excellent notes by Sir Frederick Pollock, pointing out the advance made since the time of Maine's studies.

Price, W. H. *The English Patents of Monopoly.* Pp. x, 261. Price, $1.50. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1906.

Reserved for later notice.

Reynolds, J. S. *Reconstruction in South Carolina,* 1865-1877. Pp. 522. Price, $2. Columbia: The State Company.

Reserved for later notice.

Rhodes, J. F. *History of the United States.* Vols. VI and VII. Pp. 400 and 430. Price, $2.50 each. New York: Macmillan Company, 1906.

Reserved for later notice.

Robbins, H., Edited by. *Labor, Capital and the Public.* Pp. viii, 220. Price, $1. Chicago: Public Policy Publishing Company.

Reserved for later notice.

Ryan, J. A. *A Living Wage.* Pp. 346. Price, $1. New York: Macmillan Company, 1906.

See "Book Reviews."

Sabatier, P *Disestablishment in France.* Pp. 173. Price, $1.25. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, Importers, 1906.

M. Paul Sabatier, the author of "The Life of St. Francis of Assisi," gives his readers in this volume a most interesting insight into the conditions lying back of the present movement for separation of church and state in France.

Though not a Catholic himself, it must be evident to every one who reads the book that the author has approached his subject with both sympathy and understanding. He looks for no stimulus to Protestantism to arise from the present movement, but expressly declares that those who hope for such an outcome are destined to bitter disappointment. Protestantism is not the impelling agent in the present movement—indeed, the consequences of the separation will rest much more heavily upon that branch of the Christian Church in France than upon the Catholics, the movement is essentially one of Catholics against Catholics—a progressive party against the reactionary faction. With the former organization victory, M. Sabatier insists, will ultimately rest, and to it the spiritual regeneration of France will almost entirely be due. The rise of this party of the "Young

Catholics" is then traced, showing a sturdy protest against what the author calls the mediævalism of the conservatives. The growth of the cult of the Sacred Heart, the preposterous claims of Leo Taxil, with his pretended revelations concerning Freemasonry, the avowed opposition to all innovation, the united opposition of the ultramontane party to a fair trial for Dreyfus, and the remarkable growth of such reactionary journals as "La Croix" and its dependents, show it is insisted how far the conservative branch of the church has gotten out of tune with the present-day life of the nation.

All these features are connected directly with the "clericals," the party upon which must be placed the responsibility for the present crisis.

M. Sabatier vehemently denies the assertion that the separation of church and state is an accident, an action forced upon the nation by the determined campaign of a well-organized but really unimportant minority. He asserts that the movement in favor of bringing Catholicism closely into touch with present-day life and reconciling its doctrines with the discoveries of modern science is one which has its roots in every province of the republic. The new movement, under the leadership of such men as Abbé Loisy, is organized with the avowed determination of staying with the Catholic Church and winning the allegiance of the people from that vantage ground. Any secession from the organized body of Catholicism would not carry with it the bulk of the people of France, and would thus sacrifice the dearest ambition of the progressive party.

The author considers especially unfortunate the stand taken by the Pope in the present conflict, for harmony is all important. The religion of France depends on Catholicism, and many will suffer if the reconciliation of Catholicism and modern civilization is brought about only—as there is too much reason to fear will be the case—after the Ultramontanes and the fanatics have had their way unchecked in the French Church and have brought it to the inevitable ruin that awaits a policy of ignorant pride and blind obstinacy.

The book lacks unity, but presents the material in a style both instructive and clear. It is especially valuable for its presentation of the causes underlying the contest. A copy of the law for separation of the churches and the state is appended in French and in an English translation.

Salomon, A. *Die Ursachen der ungleichen Entlohnung von Männer- und Frauenarbeit.* Pp. 132. Price, 6of. Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot, 1906.

Schmoller, G *Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft.* Pp. 480. Price, 11.40m. Leipzig: Duncker und Humbolt, 1906.

Sharp, K. L. *Illinois Libraries.* Pp. 96. Price, $1. Urbana: University of Illinois, 1906.

Shioya, S. *When I Was a Boy in Japan.* Pp. iv, 155. Price, 75 cents. Boston: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Company, 1906.

Skinner, R. P. *Abyssinia of To-Day.* Pp. xvi, 227. Price, $3. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1906.

The author was American commissioner in Abyssinia, 1903-04, and was in charge of the first mission sent by the American government to the court of King Menelik, locally known as "the King of Kings." The mission was sent to conclude with Abyssinia a treaty which should protect and strengthen the commercial relations of the two countries. Mr. Skinner has described the preparation of the mission and its travels from the coast to the capital, Addis-Ababa, the negotiations with the emperor and the return journey. In addition, a number of chapters are devoted to Abyssinian conditions, people, language, religion, customs, trade and commerce. One or two chapters on the history of the country are included, in which fact and fiction are interwoven. The volume is concluded by the treaty signed at Addis-Ababa and ratified by the President, March 17, 1904. Many excellent illustrations are given in the volume. The subject matter is excellent and the style good. It is hard to see why the price should be so high.

Mr. Skinner was very favorably impressed with Abyssinia and with the king, Menelik. He evidently believes that the country has a future, and that the present developments are very promising. In the main an upland country, with sturdy, vigorous inhabitants, who are Caucasians rather than Negroes, with many fertile valleys, and separated from the coast by rather large strips of desert which make an invasion difficult, there seems to be no reason why Mr. Skinner's faith should not be justified. It is not likely that our own commercial dealings with this country will be very large in the immediate future, but the prospect evidently justifies sending the mission. There will be many who will be glad to get so accurate and interesting an account of this comparatively little known part of the world.

Snider, G. E. *The Taxation of the Gross Receipts of Railways in Wisconsin.* Pp. 138. Price, $1. American Economic Association, 1906.

Reserved for later notice.

Steiner, E. A. *On the Trail of the Immigrant.* Pp. 374. Price, $1.50. New York: F. H. Revell Company, 1906.

This volume is easily one of the most interesting, accurate and important discussions of the immigrant yet produced in this country. The author is unusually well qualified. Born in southeastern Europe, educated in the German universities, with ancestors of Jewish faith, he is himself a Christian minister and professor in Iowa College. Coming to this country as an immigrant, he has repeatedly crossed and recrossed the ocean to see and observe other immigrants. He is a man who has found in this country not the "land of the mighty dollars but the land of great ideals." He is the master of many languages, with wide observation of the peoples in Europe and of the immigrant in America, and possessed withal of no mean literary ability. Who could be better prepared to interpret to the rest of us the essential facts in the lives and characters of our immigrants?

The author begins by discussing the home conditions in southeastern Europe, and in later chapters telling of the Slavs, the Jews, the Bohemians, the Italians and the Greeks, describing their journey to this country and the

opportunities the various groups have found here. The volume contains many excellent illustrations which lend force to the arguments of the writer. Throughout all the study the difficulties, the dangers of immigration, the poverty and the crime of the immigrant are frankly recognized and freely stated. Through all runs a powerful undercurrent of optimism—an optimism based on knowledge. Professor Steiner finds a greater menace to the ideals of America in the attitude of the froth of American society than in the physical and moral weaknesses of the immigrants. To our immigration department, particularly to Mr. Robert Watchorn, himself, be it remembered, an immigrant, many compliments are paid. Some of the book has already appeared in the form of articles in "The Outlook." Professor Steiner has given us a very sympathetic and intelligent interpretation of the immigrant, and to all students of the problems of immigration his production will be invaluable.

Stickney, A. *Organized Democracy.* Pp. 268. Price, $1 net. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1906.

Reserved for later notice.

Taylor, F. M. *Some Chapters on Money.* Pp. 316. Ann Arbor: George Wahr, 1906.

Reserved for later notice.

Taylor, H. C. *Agricultural Economics.* Pp. viii, 327. Price, $1.25. New York: Macmillan Company.

Reserved for later notice.

Thorpe, F. M., and Milligan, H. W. *The Government of the United States and of Illinois.* Rev. Ed. Pp. 365. New York: Hinds, Noble & Eldredge, 1906.

Reserved for later notice.

Townsend, E. W. *Our Constitution.* Pp. 322. Price, $1.50. New York: Moffat, Yard & Co., 1906.

Mr. Townsend offers this volume, not as a contribution to knowledge, but as a popular review of our great instrument of government. Judged from this standpoint, the book is a success; it presents in an easy style the chief facts, and the different steps in the development are well illustrated by anecdotes and quotations of contemporary character sketches. It is a book which the average man not interested in constitutional questions for their own sake can read and find interesting. After a brief review of the previous experiences of the colonies with self-government, the various movements toward union are described, and the familiar struggles and compromises which finally ended in our present constitution. A discussion of the amendments concludes the text proper. A last chapter and an appendix include the chief documents, English and Colonial, which form the background of the history of our present constitution. This part of the book, apt to be slighted by the class of readers to whom its style will most appeal, is the most valuable portion for the true student. The body of the book must plead guilty to the charge of a sacrifice of solidity to entertaining presenta-

tion, and the temptation to neglect phases of the subject that might prove difficult for the readers to comprehend has not always been resisted. At other points a surprising brevity is to be noticed, as, for example, the discussion of the war amendments and their results, which covers hardly four pages of the text. These defects impair the value of the book as a guide for the student who wishes to get more than a general idea of the subject treated. In the light of its object, however, it should be said that on the whole the work is entertainingly written and will furnish an easy introduction to the study of the constitution to a class of readers who would be repelled by a work of greater scholastic pretensions.

Train, A. *The Prisoner at the Bar.* Pp. 349. Price, $2. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906.

See "Book Reviews."

Vay de Vaya and Luskod, Count. *Empires and Emperors of Russia, China, Korea and Japan.* Pp. xxxii, 399. Price, $4. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1906.

Reserved for later notice.

Ward, A. W., Prothero, G. W., and Leathes, S. *Cambridge Modern History.* Vol. IV. Pp. xxix, 1003. Price, $4. New York: Macmillan Company, 1906.

Reserved for later notice.

Wells, H. G. *The Future in America.* Pp. 259. Price, $2. New York: Harper & Bros., 1906.

A sincere criticism of America is always appreciated by Americans. Mr. Wells combines in this book the results of an acute observation with a touch of philosophy tinged by both hope and doubt. Frankly admitting his prepossessions in favor of certain ideals, he aims to give us his first impressions drawn from a brief visit to America. All pretension to finality of opinion he disclaims with the caution, "Will the reader please remember that I've been just a few weeks in the States altogether, and value my impressions at that."

The object of the book is to try to get some insight into the future of the republic by a review of the most characteristic of its present day accomplishments and problems.

Some of the author's conclusions, the American reader will suspect, are due to the briefness of his stay, which has made the appearance pass for the reality, but with these few exceptions the judgments passed upon the various phases of our national life are trenchant and sound. They involve the problems to the solution of which the best thought in America is turned. Trusts, permanent large fortunes, child labor, graft and other phenomena of our national life fail under the author's unsparing criticism. The nation as a whole he finds still devoted to worship at the altar of individualism. That a change in attitude is coming is shown by numerous small beginnings all through the social organization. Most conspicuous of these indications are the leading statements of the leading public men, such as Mr. Roosevelt

and Mr. Bryan, who, while formally reiterating their faith in the old doctrine of individualism, at the same time advocate the calling in of the organized force of the community to protect the individual from the results of the unrestrained *laissez faire* policy.

These declarations by the leaders are the beginning of a state of mind which will insist on the welfare of the whole as opposed to the freedom of the individual.

The problems that confront the American people seem so great that the author concludes his book with a chapter in which doubt and hope for the future are combined. It is a satisfaction, however, to read the admission in the closing paragraphs that "After all is said and done, I do find the balance of my mind tilts steadily to a belief in a continuing and accelerated progress now in human affairs. . . . It seems to me, in spite of my patriotic inclinations . . . that in America . . . the leadership of progress must ultimately rest."

The book deserves a careful reading.

Wolfe, Albert B. *The Lodging House Problem in Boston.* Pp. 200. Price, $1.50. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1906.

The volume is part two of a series of Harvard economic studies, published under the direction of the Department of Economics of Harvard University. The author held for a time the South End House Fellowship, which gave him the opportunity of gathering the information here published. At present he is assistant professor of economics and sociology in Oberlin College.

The term "lodging house as used here, unless otherwise indicated, covers the class of dwellings in which live the great middle class of workers, salesmen, skilled mechanics and miscellaneous industrial workers, who for the most part are unmarried and without other abiding-place in the city—dwellings where men and women are lodged upon the payment of a sum of money (weekly or monthly)." The present study deals largely with the conditions in the South End of Boston, and the author shows how this district has gradually become a lodging house district. He describes in detail the general housing conditions, the cost of rooms, the social and economic condition of the lodgers, etc. A very carefully written chapter is devoted to vital statistics, which is well illustrated by several charts. Possibly no part of the book is more important than the chapters dealing with crime and prostitution and the problem of marriage. "The lodging house tends to increase the density of population, while nevertheless few children are to be found in the lodging house district, which has the lowest birth-rate of any in the city—lower, in fact, than the lowest death-rate in any ward in the city. It follows that the lodging house population is not reproducing itself, and probably it is due to the low marriage rate." The economic position of the landlady is very insecure, and as a result she is likely to be careless as to the moral character of those received in the house. For this reason, therefore, the development of lodging houses, with the separate café on the corner, while it gives certain freedom, involves very

great moral dangers, which were, to some extent, to be avoided under the older boarding house system, with a common parlor and some semblance of a home life. The result of the city's attitude toward houses of prostitution has been to scatter immoral people throughout the lodging house district, and it is therefore extremely difficult for a decent person to be sure of the character of his own residence.

The author has made an important contribution to our knowledge of home (?) life of the great class in our communities, and his volume, and its suggestions, should be carefully studied.

Wood, Wm. *The Fight for Canada.* Pp. xx, 370. Price, $2.50. Boston: Little Brown & Co., 1906.

Reserved for later notice.

Wright, C. D. *The Battles of Labor.* Pp. 220. Price, $1. Philadelphia: G. W. Jacobs & Co., 1906.

"Wright's Battles of Labor" is a summary of the lectures delivered by Colonel Wright, the former commissioner of labor, on the Bull lectureship foundation in Philadelphia. The author takes up the cases of labor conflicts with his well-known impartial attitude; he describes a number of typical conflicts between capital and labor, showing that in most cases they might have been avoided, at least in recent years. The feature of the book is a chapter describing the general methods of avoiding labor conflicts and pointing out that the social and industrial efficiency of the American people depends upon the development of a rational system of collective bargaining between employers and employees.

Colonel Wright, in this latest book, takes a historical point of view which lends special interest to his discussion. He shows that the friction, struggle and conflict between opposing forces in our industrial society was natural in the earlier days of our development, but he brings out with great clearness that the principle of combination and co-operation, which has wrought such wonders on the employer's side of business undertakings, must now be applied to the relations between employer and laborer.

REVIEWS.

Alexander, De Alva Stanwood. *A Political History of the State of New York.* Two Volumes. 1774-1832, 1833-1861. Pp. x, 405; vi, 444. Price, $5.00. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1906.

These volumes deal with a most attractive and important but difficult and complicated field of study. To all but the specialist the political history of the Empire State, especially the period prior to the middle of the nineteenth century, has been—to use the apt description of Daniel S. Dickinson—"a tangled web." Even James Parton refers to it as "that most unfathomable of subjects." With the exception of Hammond's inadequate and antiquated *History of Political Parties in the State of New York,* published sixty years ago, Mr. Alexander's work covers an unoccupied field.

The author's natural interest in politics—as is befitting a member of Congress—as well as his acceptance of Carlyle's conception of the transcendent importance of personality in history, has led him to confine his narrative to political events and to the deeds of party leaders. His plan of treatment is clearly announced in the following extract from the preface: "Indeed, the history of a state or nation is largely the history of a few leading men, and it is of such men only, with some of their more prominent contemporaries, that the author has attempted to write. It would be hard to find, in any commonwealth of the Union a more interesting or picturesque leadership than is presented in the political history of the Empire State. Rarely more than two controlling spirits appear at a time, and as these pass into apogee younger men of approved capacity are ready to take their places. None had a meteoric rise, but in his day each became an absolute party boss."

The first volume opens somewhat abruptly with the establishment of the state government. There is, unfortunately, no attempt to portray the political development of the colony, nor to show the connection between the pre-existing parties and those of the revolutionary era. Neither is the treatment of the transition from colonial to commonwealth government adequate. With the adoption of the constitution of 1777, however, the plan of the author is quite fully and successfully executed.

It is a striking fact that to a remarkable extent the political history of New York can be traced in the constant rivalry of two predominant party leaders. The story of the political careers of George and DeWitt Clinton and the long line of their political opponents comprises more than three-fourths of the first volume. Mr. Alexander shows how, for some time after the Revolution, Hamilton led the forces opposed to George Clinton, and later, while Aaron Burr was pushing to the front, the rising genius of DeWitt Clinton began to assert itself. The defeat of Burr for governor and the death of Hamilton seemed to clear the way for the complete control by DeWitt Clinton, save for his inability to find a strong man for governor whom he could use. In 1812 Van Buren first came into prominence, and shortly revealed his superiority as a political manager. For nearly two decades, until the death of the distinguished canal builder, his great capacity was taxed to the uttermost in the contest between "Bucktails" and "Clintonians." The concluding chapters of this volume trace Thurlow Weed's succession to the leadership of the forces opposed to Van Buren, until the latter's enemies attempted to shelve him by making him vice-president.

The second volume continues the narrative of the rivalry of the opposing parties under these same leaders. Van Buren was aided by two of his former colleagues of the Albany regency, William L. Marcy and Silas Wright. With the reorganization of the Democracy the leadership passed gradually to Horatio Seymour. Weed, supported by Seward, and later by Greeley, marshaled the rival political forces.

In addition to these commanding personalities the pages of these volumes present realistic pen pictures of such statesmen and politicians as Philip Schuyler, John Jay, the Livingstons, Robert Yates, John Lansing, Rufus

King, Daniel D. Tompkins, John A. Dix, Benjamin F. Butler, Daniel S. Dickinson, Millard Fillmore, Hamilton Fish, David D. Field, Harry J. Raymond, Edward D. Morgan, George W. Curtis and Ferdinand Wood. The enumeration of the names of these men, prominent not only in the state, but also in the nation, suggests the intimate connection between the politics of the Empire State and the country. Indeed, one of the decided merits of this history, and a characteristic that distinguishes it from the former type of state histories, is due to the fact that the author realizes this, and reveals the relation between national and state politics. This is particularly true of the period covered by the second volume, which discusses such far-reaching political phenomena as the break up of the Whig party, the reorganization of the Democracy and the rise of the Republican party. So closely, indeed, is the development of national politics followed as we approach the Civil War that the last third of the second volume is devoted to the critical years 1859-1861. The author's keen interest in this period renders him open to criticism for failure to preserve a due regard for the apportionment of space. In contrast with this full discussion of the influence of national politics is the slight attention paid to the politics of New York City, especially the failure to adequately present an account of the rise and development of Tammany as a political force.

The chief shortcomings of this work are due to Mr. Alexander's conception of history and to his narrow interpretation of what comprises political history. In consequence, he fails to present the importance and significance of movements which emanate from the people. Accordingly, little space is given to the anti-rent uprising, the Equal Rights or the Anti-Masonic party's activities. Fortunately the close connection of the Erie canal problems with the political fortunes of some of the leaders necessitated some attention to this important enterprise, but in general little consideration is paid to the influence of industrial and economic forces upon political parties.

The author's style is clear and vigorous. His narrative is interesting and reveals his firm grasp upon the subject matter, especially as it approaches the later period. Although the work adds little to the actual knowledge of the specialist, it is a distinct advance over the old style of state histories, and will serve the general reader as a reliable and interesting guide through the almost bewildering maze of the politics of New York State. We shall await with interest the completion of another volume which, it is announced, will continue the history to 1896.

HERMAN V. AMES.

University of Pennsylvania.

Clark, Victor S *The Labour Movement in Australasia.* Pp. xi, 327. Price, $1.50. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1906.

A very valuable addition has been made to the literature on Australasian labor conditions. Our actual knowledge of the trend of affairs in that far off social laboratory is somewhat meager and is colored by the romantic

accounts sometimes detailed. Hence painstaking studies of the problems undertaken there are necessary to correct our misguided impressions. The author's work is an undoubted success, and is especially noteworthy in a number of important respects: he has thoroughly analyzed the development of Australasia, has interpreted the rationale of the labor movement, and has given us a picture of the contending forces which have evolved the present condition there.

The first two chapters of the book deal with a description of the country, its people and their institutions, thus giving us the proper physiographic and historical background necessary to a just comprehension of the real meaning and nature of the social development that has been occasioned. The author continues by describing the political movement and its intimate connections with the hope of the laboring man for industrial betterment. He shows how and why labor parties were formed to hasten the progress of both political and social evolution, and contends that the movement needs an interpretation on practical, not theoretical, grounds. In addition, the program of the labor men is reviewed, and their achievements and the ideals of their leaders set forth.

The subject of immigration and the policy of exclusion are discussed and the series of industrial regulations are graphically described, emphasis being placed upon the systems of compulsory arbitration and minimum wage boards. The nature of these is reviewed and the importance and character of their work detailed. A chapter is devoted to an estimate of the effects of legislative interference with industry. Among other results an increase in the cost of living is indicated, but the class on whom the incidence of such a tax falls most heavily is the rural population, which is naturally evidencing some distrust of labor's comprehensive program. The author claims that neither extensive, positive nor negative results have been achieved by the regulations so far adopted, the total social effect being "to increase the control of labor over the conditions of production." The experience is, however, too limited as yet, and conditions too unstable, to permit the deduction of unalterable conclusions in regard to the general necessary effects of regulation.

The discussion of the importance of government in industry is an illuminating one, disclosing both the importance and magnitude of its operations, besides containing an estimate of the results achieved. Both government and private operation of public utilities have been successful and have been conducted harmoniously side by side. Government ownership has not been a dead weight, nor has it been a particular advantage. The question is, on the contrary, one of minor importance. In summarizing his work the author indicates some of the difficulties still to be encountered, and suggests points of resemblance between the nature of Australasian development and that obtaining in Europe and America.

The book is moderate in tone and is the work of an observer anxious to give correct impressions, hence students of labor and social questions

will find it a very useful volume, enabling them to understand the causes and nature of the social evolution of Australasia.

GEORGE B. MANGOLD.

University of Pennsylvania.

Giddings, Franklin H. *Readings in Descriptive and Historical Sociology.* Pp. xxiv, 553. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1906.

The sociologists of the country have learned to look for valuable contributions to sociological thought in each new work of Professor Giddings; and this book will not disappoint them. It is much more than its title indicates, for it contains, besides a careful selection of readings, an outline of sociological theory which, in many particulars, is new and interesting.

The selections have been chosen with a view "to offer to the beginner in sociological studies significant examples of the great facts of social evolution and of their interpretation." They are not meant to be used as a substitute for inductive research, but rather as examples of similar material which the student may gather for himself from historical, statistical and other sources. The selections are generally well chosen and often are exceedingly happy illustrations of the theoretical point involved. If their purpose is kept in mind, there can be no doubt that these selections can be made valuable aids in the instruction of students in sociology, especially where library facilities are not what they should be.

But it is the outline of sociological theory which accompanies these selections that makes the book valuable and interesting to the sociologist. This is more complete in scope than anything which the author has hitherto published, and bears pleasing testimony to the growth of Professor Giddings' sociological thought. The most striking thing about this outline of theory is that it subordinates "consciousness of kind" as a principle of sociological interpretation to the general psychological fact of stimulation and response. In like response to the same given stimulus we have, as Professor Giddings points out (p. 6), the beginning of all concerted activity, and in unlike response the beginning of individuation and competition. All social phenomena must be interpreted, therefore, in terms of stimulus and response. "Impression, imitation and conformity are specific modes, but not by any means the primary or simplest modes of stimulation and response" (p. 7); and the implication is, though Professor Giddings does not make the assertion, that consciousness of kind, or sympathy, is also only another phase or aspect of stimulation and response. Inter-stimulation, or psychical interaction, Professor Giddings implies, is the fundamental social fact, and sociology must be based squarely upon psychology.

Inconsistent with this psychological point of view is Professor Giddings' attempt to state the social process in purely physical terms, in terms of the redistribution of matter and energy (pp. 98-102). If not inconsistent with a psychological interpretation, this method is at least confusing to the young student for whom the book is designed. Another criticism, of similar import, is that Professor Giddings strongly implies (p. 125) that stimulus and response

are equivalent to cause and effect. If this is what is meant, most psychologists would not agree; nor would they agree with his hedonistic theory of voluntary activity (p. 126). Moreover, Professor Giddings gives a narrow meaning to the term association (p. 169). It would seem that the term should be used as the abstract or verbal noun, corresponding to the term society, and denoting, therefore, any degree of inter-stimulation and response, or reciprocal interaction, not "a sustained and indefinitely continued communication."

These and other criticisms which might be made show, however, minor faults in an outline of sociological theory which is valuable and suggestive at every point. It is to be hoped that Professor Giddings will soon elaborate this outline, and publish it as a separate volume, apart from the selections.

CHARLES A. ELLWOOD.

University of Missouri.

Morris, J. *Makers of Japan.* Pp. xv, 330. Price, $3 net. Chicago, A. C. McClurg Company, 1906.

In considering those men who have been the makers of Japan, Mr. Morris has wisely prefaced his sketches of their lives with a brief outline of the political condition of the country. He then shows, in turn, how each one of the twenty-two representative Japanese discussed, has contributed his share toward the bringing of the islands into the ranks of modern civilized nations.

In order to prepare Japan for contact with western nations the conservatism which prompted the exclusion of foreigners had first to be overcome, and such men as Prince Iwakura, Marquis Ito and Viscount Okubo Toshimichi were sent in 1871 to visit Great Britain, Europe and the United States of America, in order to learn more of the customs and government of the western countries. This expedition was widespread in its results, and from it may be dated the rise of modern Japan. As a people the Japanese are the most imitative of nations, and their sudden rise to a world power is to be explained in large part by their quick adoption of the new civilization placed before them, not only by foreigners, but through the medium of their own leaders. In naming a few of the men who have been instrumental in accomplishing this transformation, it is necessary to mention Counts Inouye, Okuma and Matsukata among the "elder statesmen" and financiers, and in military affairs Field Marshals Marquis Yamagata and Oyama, Admiral Viscount Enomoto, "the father of the Japanese navy," and Admiral Togo, who will longest be remembered for his brilliant and masterly handling of the navy in the war with Russia.

The volume is attractively illustrated with pictures of the men who have made Japan. One must turn the pages often to become familiar with their faces as well as with their names, for the various combinations of the same names somewhat confuse the western reader. The most interesting of the characters reviewed is that of Mutsuhito, his Imperial Majesty, the Tenno of Japan. He is one of the most interesting of the present-day rulers

of the world. Possessed of almost autocratic power, he is nevertheless one of the most progressive of monarchs. He realizes the immense responsibility of Japan in the east, and looks forward to a brilliant future for his country in the field of world politics.

Mr. Morris has given us in his volume a most entertaining and valuable review of the work of the great statesmen of our rising far eastern neighbor.

LAURA BELL.

Philadelphia.

Ryan, J. A. *A Living Wage: Its Ethical and Economic Aspects.* Pp. 346. Price, $1.00. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1906.

The thesis which Professor Ryan seeks to maintain in his recent volume, which is written distinctly from the Catholic point of view, is that every man has a natural right to a living wage. To prove the existence of natural rights it is declared "logically sufficient to show that because of his intrinsic dignity a person is morally *privileged* to pursue self-perfection, and his fellows are morally restrained from hindering his exercise of the privilege." After learning that natural rights, at least the one to a living wage, are based on ethical laws, one is surprised to learn that they "may be regarded as independent both of his own duties and the duties which these rights occasion in his fellows."

By implication at least, Professor Ryan divides natural rights into primary and derived. In the latter category he classes the right to a living wage, and declares that it is deduced from the "right to subsist upon the bounty of the earth." His statement that the right is "measured and determined by existing social and industrial conditions" is not quite clear, unless it means that the living wage must be gauged by these conditions. In any society the content of the living wage is the right to life, liberty, property, a livelihood in keeping with the dignity of a human being, marriage, religious worship, and intellectual and moral education. By calculations based on the cost of living the author concludes that, outside of agriculture, the living wage cannot, under present conditions, be less than $600 a year. He also presents Mr. Robert Hunter's statistics to show that sixty per cent of the laborers are underpaid.

About one-fourth of the book is devoted to the obligations corresponding to the right. The first is that of the employer to pay a living wage. Those who cannot are under no obligation to do so, but the laborer's right is superior to that of the employer to enjoy superfluous goods and of the capitalist to exact interest. On his side the laborer is "not only *not* obliged to abstain from or indefinitely postpone marriage, or to limit the number of his offspring, but is under obligation to do the very opposite." However, he is under obligation to reduce his drink bill. The obligation of the state is to see that the employer pays a living wage.

It will hardly be unfair to say that Professor Ryan's book is neither individualistic nor socialistic in the ordinary sense of either term, nor does it strike a middle ground. It is in a measure socialistic in calling upon the

state to see that a living wage is paid, but extremely individualistic in claiming this right for every laborer and basing this right, not upon any consideration of the social good, but upon the personal dignity of the human being. No distinction is made between the efficient and the inefficient, the social and the anti-social. The implication, then, is that every laborer is to receive enough to support a family according to a certain standard of living and is under obligation to contract matrimony—a conclusion which many criminologists and sociologists will not accept. When the general trend of thought is toward social action to secure certain ends confessed by most people to be desirable, it is at least refreshing to read a book proposing to accomplish the same result with a real human being as the starting point and the end. The chief difference seems to be that Professor Ryan's plan would require a higher standard of righteousness even than collectivism.

DAVID Y. THOMAS.

University of Florida.

Train, Arthur. *The Prisoner at the Bar.* Pp. xiv, 349. Price, $2. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906.

It is not too much to say that this volume is easily one of the most important books on penology of the last decade. The author is unusually well qualified through his experience as assistant district attorney in New York City under Mr. Jerome. He has been most active in the prosecution of criminal cases. He possesses, moreover, decided literary ability, and some of his shorter stories have been very favorably received. Mr. Train writes, therefore, in a very interesting style, and takes the opportunity to enliven the narrative by any number of stories drawn from his own experience.

What Mr. Train proposes to do in this book is, as suggested in the subtitle, to "Throw Side Lights on the Administration of Criminal Justice." This he has succeeded in doing. No one can read this book without realizing the extent to which juries and lawyers are human institutions, and therefore subject to all the influences which control other men. The advantages and difficulties of the jury, for instance, are very plainly set forth. One sympathizes with the difficulties involved in securing fair administration of justice, while at the same time he sees more clearly that certain very necessary changes must be made.

The table of contents shows very well what is contained in the volume. What is Crime? Who are the Real Criminals? The Arrest. The Police Court. The Trial of Misdemeanors. The Grand Jury. The Law's Delays. Red Tape. The Trial of Felonies. The Judge. The Jury. The Witness. The Verdict. The Sentence. Women in the Courts. Tricks of the Trade. What Fosters Crime?

One of the best attributes of the author is his sanity and fair mindedness. He believes that, with rare exceptions, the criminal is but an ordinary man and should be treated as such. He shows how, through our general disregard of law, thousands of those who are really criminals are not arrested

and do not come before courts for trial. This is largely due to the dishonesty which seems to permeate many phases of commercial activity. This same dishonesty is one of the chief factors in weakening the verdicts of the jury. The grand jury itself is a hold-over from the earlier condition, and is practically worse than useless. There is too much red tape about our trials, and much time might be saved if the work of the magistrates were more logically arranged. Nevertheless, we are getting just the sort of execution of criminal law that the people desire. Until we have a higher civic standard we must not expect much improvement. The tricks of lawyers are told in interesting fashion, and it is evident that the author disapproves of them in general, although many he evidently considers justified.

In general, there is much to commend and little to criticise in the author's viewpoint. He states that it is the business of the lawyer for the defendant to free his client. Perhaps it is so, but the ethics underlying this idea are more than doubtful. Nevertheless, he believes that very few men are punished who are not guilty, although it is evident that many who are guilty escape. Many of these miscarriages of justice merely stimulate crime. The author's discussion rarely goes beyond the court room, and we have no special expression of the value of the probation system. Mr. Train is to be most heartily congratulated for the general excellence of his book. It deserves wide circulation.

CARL KELSEY.

University of Pennsylvania.

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WORK

A New Department.

With the present issue of THE ANNALS begins the publication of a department of Social Work, in charge of Professor Carl Kelsey. This addition to the departments, is made because the editors feel that there is a large number of topics of interest to the members of the Academy, and to the members of the community at large, which have not received adequate treatment in the past. The editors would request members of the Academy to submit suggestions bearing upon social topics, and to suggest other topics upon which discussion is desired.

In this issue mention is made of the unique Industrial Exhibit held in Philadelphia in December, which deserves more than local recognition.

Appropriations for Charities.

The legislature of Pennsylvania is again confronted with the problem of making proper appropriations for the poor, the sick, and the afflicted of the state. For many years in constantly increasing measure the private charities of the state have asked for appropriations to aid in carrying on their work. The legislature has responded most generously, so generously in fact that the governor has been put under the necessity of vetoing or reducing the appropriations because of the condition of the treasury. Without arguing the question of subsidy—a very difficult question in itself—it seems very obvious, even to the careless observer, that the time must soon come when entirely different methods shall be followed.

Nominally, the State Board of Public Charities receives the request for appropriations and makes its recommendations to the legislature. This board has been practically of comparatively little influence in determining the amount appropriated. Many institutions are in the habit of going directly to the legislature, entirely disregarding the state board. It is interesting, however, to note that this board has just recommended appropriations for 190 private societies and institutions in sums ranging from $1,000 for a home for aged colored women at Williamsport to $300,000 for the Mercy Hospital of Pittsburg, the total amount being $4,561,000 for hospitals and $575,000 to other institutions. In addition to this, $6,111,000 has been recommended for state institutions owned and controlled by the state and $1,517,400 for seven semi-state institutions which are under private control, but which are supported almost entirely by the state.

An Industrial Exhibit.

Between the 8th and the 16th of December there was held in Horticultural Hall, in Philadelphia, an exhibit of industrial conditions in Pennsylvania. The prime movers in the exhibit were the Pennsylvania Child Labor Committee and the local branch of the Consumers' League. A similar exhibition in London a year ago gave the suggestion.

The exhibit had to do chiefly with two great phases of our industrial life, the sweat shop and child labor. Philadelphia has never had an acute

A SWEAT SHOP. THE ORIGINAL OF THE EXHIBIT BOOTH.

tenement house problem because of the unrestricted opportunity for the expansion of the city. There is, however, a decided housing problem, and the unsanitary conditions of some districts can hardly be surpassed in any other city. Under such bad conditions a committee of the industrial exhibit found some thirty varieties of articles in process of manufacture. A considerable percentage of the clothing was being made, in whole or in part, under such conditions, and the makers of the garments were not properly protected by the laws of the city. In the exhibit were installed

booths representing, as accurately as possible, the actual conditions prevailing in custom tailor shops, sweat shops and homes, together with a booth representing a rag stripper's room. To make the representation complete, tailors and finishers were hired, cloth and other materials purchased, and thirty suits of clothing were made during the exhibit in the sweat shop booth. Three women, who were found finishing garments in their own homes, were hired to do this work for the exhibit.

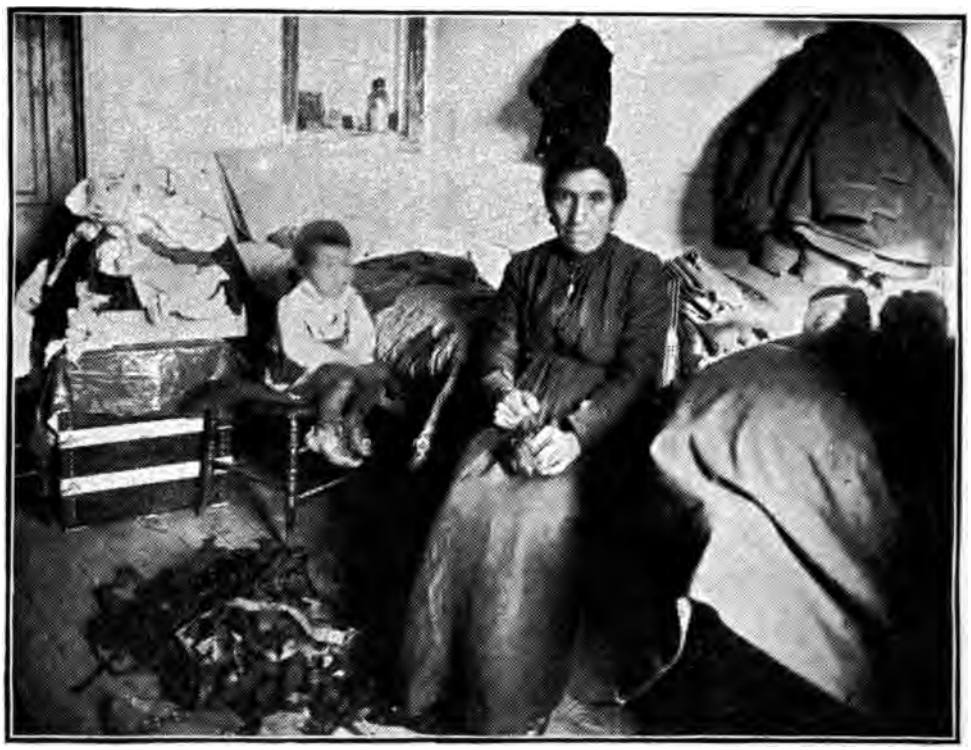
In the case of trousers, this finishing consists in making four button-

FINISHING OVERCOATS AT ELEVEN CENTS APIECE.

holes, sewing on fourteen buttons, turning in and facing the bottoms, finishing the fly and stitching in the waist-band. The usual price in Philadelphia for this work is seven cents a pair, and then, if the work does not please the contractor, he orders it done over, and the finisher is "docked" a cent or a cent and a half on the seven-cent job of finishing the trousers.

The custom tailoring in Philadelphia is centered around Walnut Street, and in the afternoon one may see children carrying clothing from the fashionable custom tailor shops to the shops down town, where it is sewed,

and then to the living rooms in the tenements, where it is finished. Under the law the Walnut Street tailors must demand a permit which states that the conditions under which this clothing is sewed and finished are sanitary, but some of these permits are three years old and the down town shops and the living rooms vie with one another in their bad sanitation and wretched surroundings. From the opening of the exhibit these booths were sur-



RAG-STRIPPING AND SEWING AT TWO CENTS FOR 240 YARDS. ROOM IS 6 X 12 FEET. IT CONTAINS TWO BEDS, COOK STOVE AND TABLE.
[This is the "house" of the worker and her two boys.]

rounded by a group of people upon whom the representations made great impression.

The rag stripper was a little Italian woman who was found in a second story room eight by twelve feet. In this room she cooked, slept and tore the rags, which her fourteen-year-old boy picked in the streets, into strips, sewed the strips together, and wound them into balls for rag carpets. For this work Mrs. B. was receiving two cents for each 240 yards of rags which she prepared.

In separate booths were a shawl fringer, a paper flower maker, an apron maker and two workers on underwear, all of whom had been found plying

A COURT TAILOR SHOP.

their trades at home, and to whom the exhibit, with its extra pay while the work went on, came as a boon.

As an object lesson to the consumer, the Philadelphia Consumers' League collected a group of articles manufactured in the homes of the workers, and

displayed them on tables. In order that the lesson might not fail to impress, a label was attached to each garment giving the wages and hours of the worker. Beside each "sweated" garment was another, made under good

FOUR A. M. "THE END OF THE NIGHT'S WORK." PHOTO TAKEN AT NINTH AND MARKET STREETS.

conditions, bearing the Consumers' League label and a contrasting statement of the hours and the wages of the workers.

In his last report the Secretary of Commerce and Labor at Washington says: "Pennsylvania ranks first, and Massachusetts second, in the employment of children in manufactures." In Pittsburg the children roll stogies;

in Lancaster they wrap caramels; in Reading they work on felt hats; in Scranton they spin silk night and day; in the western counties they work in the soft coal mines; in the eastern counties they work in the hard coal breakers; and in Philadelphia they work at everything from hosiery to glass bottles. A stage artist prepared booths from photographs, by painting in backgrounds and filling the open space with groups of life-size figures of children. In this way the conditions of child labor in the state were shown most impressively. The lessons were further brought home by a series of more than a hundred pictures showing conditions in all parts of the state.

The exhibit included no more interesting work than that done by the students of Bryn Mawr College. The branch of the Consumers' League which has been organized at that institution volunteered their services, and prepared a series of fifteen charts and a large map of the United States, to show the distribution, amount and effects of child labor.

Those features constituted the main part of the exhibit. In addition, all of the societies in Philadelphia which are aiming to better the social conditions were asked to show in a graphic way some of the problems which they encountered, and methods employed in solving them. Many accepted this offer. The Charity Organization Society laid special stress on its Wayfarers' Lodge; the Visiting Nurse Society showed a room in a tenement before and after the arrival of the visiting nurse; the Research and Protective Association showed models of good and bad employment bureaus; the various children's societies showed what they are doing for children; and the Public Education Association showed actual and model school conditions, and by means of manual training classes attempted to impress the public with the fact that there is a great modern need in our cities for improved school facilities.

The mornings and afternoons were devoted to the various exhibiting societies, who, in most cases, with the aid of a lantern, explained the scope and character of their work. During the evenings leading social questions were discussed by speakers from all parts of the country. More than twenty-five thousand people saw the exhibit during the week it was open to the public.

On the second day a small boy with a dirty face and a dirtier sweater pushed his way up to the bureau of information. "Lady," said he, indicating the child labor exhibit, "I want to give something to help them poor children," and, depositing a grimy cent on the desk, merged with the crowd.

A handsomely dressed woman pointed her finger toward the rag picker's shop. "Such a thing brought here," said she, "will make anarchists." "Ah!" replied a social worker, "but what do you suppose such conditions, a thousand times repeated in this city, will develop in the place from which they come?" At least two persons were made to think.

The exhibition will be repeated in Chicago, Erie and Boston, in the order named.

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